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DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

CHARLES ABBOT, LORD COLCHESTER

VOL. I.

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THE

DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

CHARLES ABBOT, LORD COLCHESTER

SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS 1802-1817

EDITED BY HIS SON

CHARLES, LORD COLCHESTER

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IN THREE VOLUMES

VOL. I.

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET

1861.

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PREFACE.

THE following extracts from the diary and correspondence of the late Lord Colchester have been selected from a great mass of MSS. papers left by him, including a complete collection of his official and other speeches while Speaker of the House of Commons; memoranda of his life previous to his entrance into Parliament in 1795; and a regular diary from that date to the very last day of his life.

Those portions which related to strictly private or family affairs have been excluded as uninteresting to the Public; those now submitted to the reader may, it is hoped, assist to illustrate the political transactions of an important era in the history of the country.

December, 1860.

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MEMOIR

OF

CHARLES ABBOT, LORD COLCHESTER.

Charles Abbot, created in 1817 Baron Colchester, was the younger of the two sons of the Rev. John Abbot, D.D., fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, and Rector of All Saints, Colchester, by his marriage with Sarah, daughter of Mr. Jonathan Farr, citizen of London.* Dr. Abbot, died in April 1760, at the early age of forty-three, highly respected for his learning and moral worth. Dr. Abbot's ancestors had lived for some generations at Shaftesbury, in the county of Dorset, and the family appears to have been settled in that neighbourhood from a very early period, Richard Abbot having been High Sheriff of the county of Dorset, A. D. 1100.† His son Charles was born at Abingdon in Berkshire, on the 14th of October 1757; and in March 1763 he was placed, together with his brother, as a home boarder at Westminster School, of which Dr. Markham, afterwards Archbishop of York, was then head-master. In 1770 he was elected a King's Scholar, and went into College captain of his election. After remaining five years upon the foundation, he he was elected off to Christ Church, Oxford, in May 1775, and admitted a student at the following Christmas. In 1776 he obtained the first College prize for Latin Verse, and the following year the University prize for Latin Verse, the subject being the Czar Peter. The Empress Catherine of Russia, to whom a copy of these verses had been presented, sent to Mr. Abbot, through the Secretary of State, one of the gold medals struck by her command upon the Peace with the Turks. Among the acquaintances formed by Mr. Abbot at Westminster and Christ Church, and whose

* Mrs. Abbot subsequently married Jeremy Bentham, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, *father*, by a former marriage, of Jeremy Bentham, the celebrated writer on jurisprudence; and Samuel, K.S.G., a brigadier-general in the Russian service, and some time inspector of naval works, &c.

† From the researches kindly communicated to me by a learned genealogist, J. T. Abbott, Esq., of Darlington.

friendship he retained through life, were, Mr. Henry Bankes, for many years M.P. for Corfe Castle, and afterwards Dorsetshire; Dr. Pett, Canon of Christ Church; Mr. W. Wickham, Chief Secretary for Ireland; Dr. Hall, Dean of Christ Church; Lord Trentham, afterwards Marquis of Stafford and Duke of Sutherland; the Honourable Henry Legge; and the two Censors, William Jackson*, afterwards Bishop of Oxford, and Randolph, Bishop of London. The public lectures then given at Christ Church, as planned by Dr. Markham (afterwards Archbishop of York), were, 1. A course of Elementary Mathematics, comprising the first six books of Euclid, Plane and Spherical Trigonometry, and Maclaurin's Algebra, as far as Quadratic Equations; and 2. A course of Logic, Rhetoric, and Poetry, in which the works of Aristotle upon those subjects were taken for the text-books, and illustrated by the Lecturers' remarks. His private readings were chiefly a course of Ancient History, and an occasional excursion among the Greek tragedians. The Four Evangelists were also part of his College studies. No English author entered into the plan, except Locke's lesser tract, "On the Conduct of the Human Understanding," and Harris's "Hermes" and Treatises; but (he states in the notes of his early life) "I found leisure to read Bacon's Treatise 'On the Advancement of Learning, and his Essays. I also attended the University Lectures on Natural and Experimental Philosophy, and the College Lectures on Anatomy."† Mr. Abbot's regular residence at Oxford closed in the summer of 1778, and he then went to Switzerland for the purpose of studying Civil Law; residing chiefly at Geneva, where he went through the public exercises, wore the habit, and took the degree of Doctor in Civil Law. In the autumn of 1779 he returned to England, and began to keep terms in order to be called to the Bar, residing with his elder brother (Mr. John Farr Abbot) in chambers near Lincoln's Inn. During the riots raised by Lord George Gordon in the summer of 1780, Mr. Abbot "was enrolled in the Temple to bear a musket in the company commanded by Howorth, and drew lots with his brother and the rest of his party to fire through a window that looked up Mitre Court leading to Fleet Street, which was one of the avenues by which the mob was expected to come. Mansfield, King's Counsel (afterwards Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas), commanded the whole force of the Temple; Erskine (afterwards Lord Chancellor) commanded a company at the gate next Essex Street; and Heath, then a Serjeant-at-law, and since Judge, commanded at the gate leading to

* To Cyril Jackson, afterwards Dean of Christ Church, Mr. Abbot always expressed great obligation for his instruction and countenance during the early years of his life.

† "My Life, from 1757 to 1795."

Blackfriars. The mob, however, only assaulted the outer gates of the Temple, and the Northumberland Militia constituted the real protection within." *

Being elected a Vinerian scholar by the University of Oxford in November 1781, and fellow in 1788, he renewed his residence there by visiting Oxford occasionally till October 1792, when he resigned that fellowship and finally ceased to reside. In Easter Term 1783 Mr. Abbot was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple, and commenced practice in the Court of King's Bench, and joined the Oxford and Chester Circuit and Oxford Sessions; but subsequently he confined his practice to the Courts of Equity; and though his success in his profession was such as to hold out the expectation of his gaining the highest objects it offers, feelings which are best described in his own words led him in 1794 to renounce such views, and to accept a more modest but less laborious office.

LETTER TO THE REV. PHINEAS PETT, CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

October 20th, 1794.

My dear Pett,—I should not pardon myself, if I did not acknowledge your two most kind and friendly letters. The melancholy subject which occasioned them has extremely shaken my health, which was before but too much affected by the long and unceasing labours of my particular station at the bar; and the prospect of their continuance with aggravated anxieties for an indefinite number of years to come —absorbing every other idea than that of paper, tape, and guineas, and extinguishing every other sentiment, and excluding every possibility of rational, social, or domestic comfort—had induced me for some time back to wish that I could shift my flag, and, without quitting the service, place myself in some occupation less destructive of happiness. Very few such posts exist, and fewer still are within reach; but for some such I had actually taken steps, little imagining that a more short and sorrowful road was to be opened. Nevertheless Providence so ordained; and I was suddenly compelled to say that I would, or would not, at such a moment, take such a lot of life as previous and long deliberation had taught me to think the most eligible. Acting, therefore, at a time when reflection was not very practicable, upon principles which prior reflection had led me to adopt, I took the appointment which became vacant. I am painting to you the true history of my thoughts upon this occasion. It is a satisfaction to me to communicate them to you even by this mode, as we are not likely very soon to meet; and I feel a particular gratification in depositing them where I know they will be received with so much personal kindness for me. As to the general list of

* "My Life, from 1757 to 1795."

one's acquaintance, as far as the measure I have taken forms a topic of the day for their conversation, I take it for granted they will talk, whether they think or not, in various ways; thus much I am sure of, that their censure or approbation will not alone constitute my happiness; and this I am still more sure of, that, judging only by exterior circumstances, they have none of the more material data upon the knowledge of which such a judgment as my own was to be most necessarily formed. Not to tire you too much, I have exchanged a course of life composed (without exaggeration) of unceasing and ungrateful toil, from daybreak till midnight, throughout the year, excepting only two of the autumn months, for an office which employs me not necessarily more than four months of the year, and that never to any degree of excessive trouble or anxiety. I have insured the means of health, society, and the choice of other pursuits, literary or parliamentary (as they more probably will be), and an income much larger than any reasonable man can want, and much larger even than my profession at the bar produced*, and this beyond the reach of diminution by any alteration of my own health, or any caprice of fortune in law or politics. So far, you will not think, probably, the scale preponderates against me. As to the rest, if it be more wise to make ambition an accidental and not an essential ingredient of happiness, the change is still not much to my disadvantage. The prizes which I am supposed to forego are those which in the lottery of life I might never have attained; as the chances of competition and politics are calculated and controlled about as easily as the winds. Other prizes interesting enough to any honest ambition may remain, and with the difference that their sorts and the roads to them are more various and less perilous; added to which this main consideration, that the intermediate space of life is of itself stocked with present good instead of present evil. I should not deal fairly with you, or with myself, if I were to say that such a step, at such a time of my life, cost me no disquietude. I have experienced a good deal in debating it with myself. Of course I have some circumstances to regret in the change, but the alternative is not of my own making, and having struck the balance of the account, I certainly have much reason to thank Heaven that the total is such as I find it. Adieu. Let me never fail to see you when you visit London, which will be my residence for the greater part of the year; and the almanack will show you our terms. Fare you well, and believe me most faithfully and affectionately, Yours ever, C. A.

* Mr. Abbot's profits at the bar *averaged* for the last four years 1540*l.* a year, the last being at a higher rate than any preceding year. The income of Clerk of the Rules in the King's Bench was 2700*l.*

"The melancholy subject" alluded to in Mr. Abbot's letter was the death of his elder brother, who held at the time the office of Clerk of the Rules in the King's Bench. Mr. John Abbot had married, in 1785, Miss Pearce, great niece of Dr. Pearce, Dean of Westminster and Bishop of Rochester. She died at Naples in the preceding winter of consumption, and her husband fell a victim to the same disease after his return to England in August 1794. The fatal nature of his complaint was, however, unsuspected by his family till within the last ten days of his life.

Mr. Abbot took the office, thus become vacant, in October 1794, and shortly afterwards received the following letter from Mr. Erskine (afterwards Lord Chancellor): —

"If I had not been so incessantly engaged in the manner you know I have been, I should long ago have called upon you to give you my hearty and friendly welcome into your seat here. You gave up a great deal for it, in giving up what your abilities must have given, but in my mind you have nevertheless acted most wisely. I am a tolerable judge at this moment of the drawback upon comfort which attends the labours of the profession.

"I always am very sincerely yours, T. E.

"Nov. 7th, 1794."

Although Mr. Abbot had taken the office of Clerk of the Rules in the Court of King's Bench, as a less fatiguing occupation than that of a practising barrister, he did not confine his labours to the mere necessary routine of his office, as appears by the following entry: "Between October 1794 and the expiration of the following year, I compiled a complete survey of the office, its duties, profits, and circumstances in every particular. I added a junior-clerk to the establishment, qualified in Latin, court-hand, and arithmetic, as a person to be educated for the office business, and to be trained up in succession. I collected all the records belonging to the office, which had been theretofore kept in a ruinous garret in the Temple, and caused them all to be chronologically arranged and indexed, and deposited in a set of chambers just become vacant by the removal of the Masters in Chancery out of Symond's Inn into their new office. In the summer of 1795 I set on foot a series of indexes to all the books of the entry, and printed all the General Rules and Orders of the Court subsequent to the year 1761; allotting the profits of the publication to the purchase of law books for the use of the Court of King's Bench at Westminster. The books were accordingly provided and bound under my directions, and lodged in Court for the use of the bench and bar. In aid of the former fund, and for the purpose of providing some useful books for the accommodation of the Chester Circuit at each assize town, I also published

the Rules and Orders of the Chester Circuit from my own MS. digest of them; with a preface treating at large of the jurisdiction, and discussing the propriety of abolishing it."

In June 1795 a wider sphere of usefulness and distinction was opened to Mr. Abbot. Upon the recommendation of the Duke of Leeds, to whom the electors of Helston in Cornwall looked up as the head of the Godolphin family, Mr. Abbot was elected to serve in Parliament as the representative of that borough, Sir Gilbert Elliott having vacated that seat by accepting the Vice-Royalty of Corsica.

"My obligation to the Duke of Leeds," writes Mr. Abbot, "for this signal act of friendship I can trace to no other cause whatever than his having known me at Westminster School, and seen me accidentally, but very seldom, at the Westminster plays and meetings." The line of conduct which Mr. Abbot proposed to himself to pursue is thus stated in a letter written to his friend Mr. Richards*, who was to be his colleague in the representation of Helstone, after the dissolution which was then expected. "In entering that place (the House of Commons) my purposes are, having no permanent call elsewhere, to pay a constant and vigilant attention to all the ordinary business of Parliament; next, upon all general occasions, to vote in support of the minister of the day, be he Pitt or Fox; for to me they are as indifferent as Pompey or Cæsar, and I hate, because I disapprove, a teasing, barking, cavilling, unprincipled opposition. In the next place, upon particular and important questions, open by their nature to the discussion of all men, I should give my voice upon the balance of the question, either silently, or with reasons, if I could contribute information, or should think it necessary to avow principles or assign reasons; proud of the station, if during a parliamentary life, my former habits or knowledge, with future efforts, should compass any material improvement in our legislative employment. All this may seem to you very fine and romantic, but you know me reasonably well, and that I seldom undertake a duty without something like a deliberate system of action. Secondly, as to the duration of our seats. From a part of what I have already said, it is very possible that you may see mine very short-lived, and me in possession of the Chiltern Hundreds during this very winter. Not that I have anything like certain ground for such a supposition, but I cannot be any man's blackamoor, and if I should think it right to give a current support to one side, while our friend should take a line decidedly opposite, although I should not

* Afterwards Lord Chief Baron. Mr. Richards and Mr. Abbot had been intimate friends at the Bar, and continued so in Parliament till 1806, when an unfortunate misunderstanding respecting the election for the University of Oxford caused all intercourse between them to cease.

conclude unnecessarily that he meant me to follow in his train, yet I should not be unprepared to quit upon notice. I say again that I have nothing like certain or even probable ground from him for such a supposition; for he and I, strange as you may think it, never have exchanged one syllable upon politics, he never having even intimated more than by telling me that Mr. Fox had moved for the writ. As to your seat, if I go, and you stay, I see no reason for yours to cease; and if we both stay, I do not know why either should cease, except he, after his second son comes of age, should desire it. . . . . Adieu. Read this and burn it, for although I wish you to know my inward heart, perhaps it may be as well that no other mortal, less friendly, should have so much in his power.

"Yours ever, C. A."

Parliament was not dissolved, as had been expected, in the autumn of 1795, but met again in October, and Mr. Abbot's first speech in the House of Commons was made on the 3rd of December of the same year, in the debate upon the third reading of the Seditious Assemblies Bill, which had been brought in by Mr. Pitt's Government, and violently opposed by Mr. Fox and his friends. Mr. Abbot supported the measure; his speech was well received by the House, and he received the warm congratulations of his professional and political friends. This success did not, however, induce him to speak very frequently in debate; but when he did so, it was "with the best consideration which he could give to the subject in hand; for not being under any obligation to trouble the House with any crude or unpremeditated opinions, he thought he showed more respect to his hearers, and was more likely to give effect to his opinions, by putting them to the understandings of his hearers in the shortest and most conclusive mode which he could."* He preferred turning his attention to the introduction of practical improvements in legislation, and in this same Session he obtained a Committee to inquire into the manner of dealing with Expiring Laws. Their report established the practice of making complete annual tables of the Temporary Laws of the United Kingdom; so that none, as had formerly happened, should expire unobserved. He next, in 1797, brought before Parliament a plan for the due promulgation of the statutes to all public offices, courts of justice, and magistrates, by furnishing them with a copy of all Acts of Parliament as soon as printed; thus enabling them to see readily the state of the law which they had to administer, instead of being obliged to refer to private collections of Acts, which were not everywhere accessible, and seldom reached down to the existing time. Mr. Abbot was also "exceedingly desirous to have introduced a more improved style and diction in all public acts, but the matter was full of difficulties,

* Reflections, 1817.

and though exhorted by all, he was helped by none." * The project, therefore, fell to the ground.

The Finance Committee appointed by Mr. Pitt in 1797, and of which Mr. Abbot was chosen the chairman, occupied the greater portion of his time during that and the following year. This Committee made thirty-six reports upon the different branches of the public establishments. Those relating to the Revenue, the Exchequer, and the Courts of Law were prepared by the chairman. The reports on the other subjects were drawn up by different members of the Committee. Many of the measures of improvement recommended in these reports were carried into execution by the Government, and the proceedings of this Committee were long considered as the model for subsequent Committees of Finance. Among the best fruits of this Committee was a Bill "for charging Public Accountants with the Payment of Interest," whereby the balances which used to be retained indefinitely by successive paymasters and others, in and out of office, becoming chargeable with interest, have not since been retained. In 1800 Mr. Abbot moved for a Committee for an investigation into the National Records, out of whose report arose the Royal Commission for the better arrangement and preservation of the Public Records of the Realm, which received the sign manual in the summer of the same year. In the beginning of 1801, Mr. Abbot introduced a Bill for ascertaining the Population of Great Britain, with the increase or diminution thereof. This was the first of those Acts which have since been passed decennially, with increased scope of inquiry, fully elucidating questions of statistical knowledge previously but little understood.

In December 1796 Mr. Abbot married Miss Elizabeth Gibbes, eldest daughter of Sir Philip Gibbes. By this marriage he had two sons: Charles, who succeeded him in the title of Colchester; and Philip Henry, who was called to the Bar in 1826, and died in January 1835, having married, in 1829, Frances, daughter of Dr. Talbot, Dean of Salisbury, and his wife Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Henry, fifth Duke of Beaufort.

Upon the formation of Mr. Addington's administration in February 1801, Mr. Abbot received the appointment of Chief Secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; and the office of Keeper of the Privy Seal of Ireland was afterwards added as a compensation for the loss of his office in the Court of King's Bench, which Mr. Abbot relinquished on becoming Chief Secretary. The state of Ireland at this time demanded no small amount of judgment, firmness, and tact in the Lord-Lieutenant (Lord Hardwicke) and his chief adviser, to conduct its affairs successfully; and they were not found

* Reflections, 1817.

wanting to the occasion. The peace of Amiens, which was signed on the 1st of October, relieved the Irish Government from its military anxieties, and Mr. Abbot was then enabled to give his undivided attention to the reform of the civil departments of the administration, and to the development of the natural resources of the country. Various improvements had been already carried out, and others were in progress, when the death of the Chancellor of Ireland, Lord Clare, caused the removal of Mr. Abbot to a new sphere of duty. Lord Clare was succeeded in his office by Sir John Mitford (created Lord Redesdale), then Speaker of the House of Commons; and Mr. Abbot was elected to fill the vacant chair on the 10th of February 1802. This distinguished position he continued to hold for fifteen years, having been four times chosen Speaker unanimously after his first election. In 1806* he was chosen by the University of Oxford as one of its members, and continued to represent that learned body in the House of Commons so long as he remained there. As Speaker, Mr. Abbot established a great improvement in the conduct of Private Bills, by setting up a "Private Bill Office," precluding all possibility of any party surprising the other by sharp practice in the many Bills involving private rights of property; as inclosures, roads, canals, town improvements, &c. The regulations proposed by the Speaker were finally matured and adopted upon a report from a Select Committee. Another improvement was effected by Mr. Speaker Abbot in the printing of the votes, the delivery of which, from the increasing quantity of business transacted by the House, had by degrees been so much delayed as to be usually two days, and sometimes a whole week, in arrear. By introducing an abstracted form of votes, showing the business done on the preceding day, and also the business to be done on the day of delivery, members were each morning put in possession of the current business of the day, instead of having to seek for it as best they might.

As the "Diary and Correspondence" will relate the chief topics which came under the consideration of Parliament during the Speakership of Mr. Abbot, it will be only necessary here to advert to a few in which he took a more prominent part. In the Session of 1805 Mr. Whitbread brought forward charges against Lord Melville (then First Lord of the Admiralty), founded upon the Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, for misapplication of public money while holding the office of Treasurer of the Navy. Mr. Pitt, in reply, stated the case of Lord Melville, his friend and colleague from the commencement of his first administration; not defending the regularity of his proceeding, but remarking upon the explana-

* Mr. Abbot had continued to sit for Helston till the Parliament of 1802, when he was returned for the borough of Woodstock.

tions which the case might receive if inquired into by a select committee; and concluded by moving the previous question. A long debate ensued, and upon the division the numbers were 216 for, and 216 against, the motion; thus leaving the decision to the casting vote of the Speaker. This vote Mr. Abbot prefaced by a brief statement of the three charges brought forward by Mr. Whitbread, and of the reasons urged on the other side for further inquiry, before the House came to a decision; concluding with his own opinion, that upon the best attention he had been able to give to the result of this important debate, it appeared to him that although such further information might be applicable to the latter charge (participation in the illegal profits of his subordinate, Mr. Trotter), it could not have any reference to the former charges, which were confessed and established, and fit for the immediate judgment of the House; and that he should accordingly give his vote with the Ayes." The main question was accordingly put and carried, and the subsequent ones also without a division. The Speaker's conduct on this occasion gave general satisfaction, and the Ministers themselves admitted that he could not have done otherwise. Lord Sidmouth the next day expressed himself perfectly satisfied with Mr. Abbot's vote, and told him that Mr. Pitt and Mr. Robert Dundas (Lord Melville's son) had also acknowledged the propriety of the Speaker's conduct. These proceedings led ultimately to an impeachment of Lord Melville, who was tried by his Peers in Westminster Hall, and acquitted of all the charges laid against him by the managers for the House of Commons.

In September 1809, upon the resignation of Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, Mr. Perceval offered to Mr. Abbot the seals of Secretary of State; but Mr. Abbot unhesitatingly declined them, expressing his intention to continue in the chair of the House of Commons so long as the House were disposed to retain his services.

The question of removing the political disabilities imposed on persons professing the Roman Catholic faith had occupied the attention of Parliament from time to time ever since the union with Ireland; and, after the death of Mr. Perceval in 1812, a motion made by Mr. Canning for taking the claims of the Roman Catholics into consideration in the next Session was carried by a large majority. In consequence of this resolution, early in 1813 Mr. Grattan brought into the House of Commons a Bill to provide for the removal of the Civil and Military disqualifications under which the Roman Catholics then laboured. This Bill was read a second time (by a majority of 42), and its success was considered certain by its promoters; but on going into committee Mr. Abbot rose to oppose the first clause, which enacted that Roman Catholics might sit and vote in either House of Parliament. He contended that Parliament ought, in

conformity to the established constitution of the empire, to withhold from the Roman Catholics all capacity of political power and jurisdiction; but at the same time widely and liberally to lay open before them the field of profitable and honourable reward for distinguished exertions and services, and in matters of religion to render their legal toleration complete. These arguments were urged with so much ability that the clause was rejected by a majority of 4; the numbers being ayes 247, noes 251. The promoters of the measure, having thus failed in their principal object, abandoned the Bill altogether, and every subsequent motion for a committee upon the Roman Catholic claims, during the four years which Mr. Abbot continued to be a member of the House, was negatived. Besides the duties of the Speaker more immediately connected with Parliament, many others had at this time been cast upon his office which had reference to subjects of an entirely different nature, by naming him as First Commissioner for the execution of public works carried on by public grants. Of these, the principal which employed Mr. Abbot's time were, the Public Records of the realm and the improvements of the highlands of Scotland; besides inferior trusts for improvements in Westminster, Westminster Bridge, the British Museum, Royal Military Canal, Nelson and Wellington grants, &c. Mr. Abbot was also latterly called upon by the Secretary of State for the Home Department to take the direction in a Committee for regulating and superintending the establishment of a new General Penitentiary at Millbank,—a labour which, superadded to the rest, deprived him of the only portion of the day previously reserved for air and exercise, and completed the destruction of his health. He suffered much during the Session of 1816; and, in April 1817, an attack of erysipelas in the head, which prevented his taking the chair from the 28th March to the 24th of April (including the Easter holidays), and returned again on the 19th May, obliged him to send in his resignation on the 28th; as owing to the absence of any provision at that time for supplying the vacancy in the chair, when the Speaker was personally unable to be present, the whole business of the House of Commons was suspended during his absence from illness or other cause. A peerage (by the title of Baron Colchester) was immediately conferred by the Prince Regent upon the retiring Speaker; and a pension of 4000*l.* a year to himself, and 3000*l.* a year to his next successor in the title, was voted by the House of Commons, to enable him to support his new dignity. A vote of thanks "for his eminent and distinguished services during the long and eventful period in which he discharged the duties of Speaker, with a zeal and ability alike honourable to himself and advantageous to the service of the House," was also passed with general concurrence.

Soon after his first election to the chair of the House of Commons Mr. Abbot purchased from Lord Abergavenny the house and property of Kidbrooke, in Sussex, and made it his residence during those portions of the year when Parliament was not sitting, only quitting it once, after the peace of 1815, to make a short visit to Paris and Brussels. These intervals of relaxation from official labours were not allowed to pass unemployed. The earlier portion of Mr. Abbot's residence in Sussex was at a period when the whole nation was in arms to repel a threatened invasion, and he took the commission of Lieutenant-Colonel in "The North Pevensey Legion," then raised as a Volunteer Corps of Horse and Foot, 1200 strong, collected from the different parishes on the borders of Ashdown Forest, and commanded in chief by Lord Sheffield. The horse consisted of two troops, one of which Mr. Abbot commanded as captain, and drilled by the help of the knowledge and practice he had acquired while serving under Colonel Herries in the London and Westminster Light Horse Volunteers* from 1797 to 1801. The duties of a justice of the peace with sittings every fortnight, and occasional attendance at the lieutenancy meetings, also filled up much of his time. His leisure was occupied in the improvement of his house and grounds, and subsequently in planting and bringing under cultivation a tract of several hundred acres of heath land, which he added to his original purchase of Kidbrooke. His reading during these years (1802—1817) was, as he states, of course very desultory; whatever was of a parliamentary nature superseded any other general literature, but he failed not steadily to pursue his course of Scripture reading; first, by abstracting their substantial contents, and making such chronological lists of events, and compiling such views of the prophecies, as might lead him always to take up, with more regularity and comprehension, any portion to which he might afterwards desire to turn his attention.†

The state of Lord Colchester's health prevented him from taking any active share in public business for the two years following his retirement from the Speakership, and in the summer of 1819 he went abroad and remained on the Continent till 1822, passing his winters successively at Genoa, Rome, and Nice, and travelling during the intervening summers through the principal portions of Italy and France.

Lord Colchester returned to England in May 1822; and his health being now sufficiently restored to enable him to take an active part

* This corps consisted entirely of gentlemen, and numbered in its ranks many who became distinguished statesmen, as Perceval, Yorke, &c.

† Reflections, 1817. This course appears to have commenced in 1795, and to have been continued till his death in 1829.

in the proceedings of Parliament, he became a constant attendant in his place in the House of Lords. In June of this year he moved the amendment to the Bill introduced by the Duke of Portland for admitting Roman Catholic Peers to seats in the House of Lords. This measure he opposed as leading necessarily to the concession of all the other claims of the Roman Catholics to political power which he considered could not be conceded with safety to the Protestant Institutions of the country; while at the same time he was of opinion that the whole career of civil honours and emoluments should be laid open to them. These sentiments Lord Colchester maintained to the close of his life, and proved their sincerity by supporting (in 1824) the Bill for enabling the Duke of Norfolk (a Roman Catholic) to exercise his office as Earl Marshal, and that for enabling Roman Catholics to hold situations in the Revenue Departments; while he was found in the final struggle among those who opposed their admission to Parliament. In the following year (1824) Lord Colchester was placed in the chair of the Committee on the Appellate Jurisdiction of the House of Lords, which suggested various measures for remedying the inconvenience loudly complained of, arising from the arrear of appeals waiting to be heard. These measures he explained in a speech delivered on the 1st July; and the adoption of those for more frequent hearings of Appeals in the House of Lords speedily reduced the existing arrear; but a Bill proposed for shortening the forms of proceedings in Scotch Appeals was thrown out in the House of Commons in the following Session. Lord Colchester was also placed on the Select Committee upon the State of Ireland, which heard evidence on a great variety of subjects. The result produced upon his mind was, that "*The Emancipation* required (by Ireland) was from poverty; *The Grant*, a means to work, and find that industry is profitable." In 1824 he took an active part in the new arrangement of the office of Clerk of the Parliament; and also occupied himself in facilitating the general business of the House, by obtaining the completion of the Index to the Statutes; the *printing* of the Standing Orders, and of the Daily Minutes of proceedings; and the promotion of a Library of Reference, on the same plan as that of the House of Commons. Besides these various occupations at the House of Lords, Lord Colchester, from 1823 till 1827, attended frequently the Judicial meetings of the Privy Council; there being at that period no established Judicial Committee, but the Lord President summoned, from time to time, such Privy Counsellors as he judged most fitted to assist him in hearing the causes brought before the Council. In 1826, the defective establishment of clerks and disordered state of records in the Council Office being subject of complaint, he arranged with the Lord President (Harrowby) a revision of the establishment, with the addition of

a law clerk and a new scale of salaries to be sanctioned by the King in Council. In 1827 Lord Colchester supported the amendments proposed by the Duke of Wellington in the Corn Bill (of Mr. Canning's Government) sent up from the House of Commons. In his speech on this question, after objecting both to the policy and leading provisions of the Bill, he pointed out in detail the mode in which the House of Lords should proceed when differing with the Commons on questions of Bills of Supply, by making its own amendments, and leaving it to the Commons to originate a new Bill incorporating the substance of the Lords' amendments.

In the autumn of 1827 Lord Colchester made a journey to the northern highlands of Scotland, to view the various public improvements which had been made under the direction of the Parliamentary Commission of which, as Speaker, he had been the *First* Commissioner from 1802 to 1817; and of which, after retiring from that office, he had been *specially* named a Commissioner. The works included a canal (the Caledonian) from sea to sea; roads to the extent of 900 miles, besides many large bridges, completed at the joint expense of the public and the highland counties. Churches had also been built in remote districts under the Parliamentary grant. This visit to a country which in early life he had traversed in its wild condition, but which now everywhere bore symptoms of improving civilisation, was in itself a very gratifying occurrence; but its pleasure was much enhanced by the reception which he experienced in the districts through which he passed, the country gentlemen proffering their hospitality, and the municipalities of Tain, Dornock, and Inverness conferring upon him the freedom of those Royal Burghs, in token of their estimation of the benefits conferred upon their country by the Commission under his personal guidance.

The Parliamentary Session of 1828 was memorable for the passing of the Bill for repealing the Test and Corporation Acts, and for the last successful resistance to the admission of Roman Catholics to seats in Parliament. Upon the motion for going into committee upon the former Bill Lord Colchester expressed his concurrence in the removal of the Sacramental Test by which Dissenters were excluded from taking office, upon the ground, that the practice of the last fourscore years, of passing an Annual Indemnity Act, had practically annulled the security originally intended by the Test Act; leaving only the inconvenience of placing the clergy often in the situation of being called upon to administer the Holy Sacrament under unsuitable circumstances, and inducing the Dissenters to take offices, under the expected protection of the Indemnity Act, to which offices they were at the same time, by the permanent laws of the country, inadmissible.

The admission of Roman Catholics to political power Lord Colchester continued to oppose upon the same principles which he had ever advocated; and upon Lord Lansdowne's motion (upon the 10th of June) to concur with a resolution of the House of Commons, to consider the state of the laws affecting the Roman Catholics, with a view to such a final and conciliatory adjustment as might be conducive to the peace and strength of the Realm, and the stability of the Protestant Establishment, he spoke at length against concurring with the resolution; arguing from the doctrines concerning the spiritual and temporal power of the Pope at present avowed by the Roman Catholic Church, and the conduct of the priests in Ireland, that no measures of domestic legislation which could be adopted would lead to the general satisfaction and concord expressed in the resolution; and that the mode suggested of obviating these difficulties by a direct intercourse with the See of Rome, for the purpose of obtaining from the Pope a Bull to regulate the affairs of the Roman Catholic Church within these realms, would be a direct step towards the overthrow of the Reformation in this country by re-establishing in it the jurisdiction of the See of Rome. The resolution being also opposed by the Duke of Wellington, then Prime Minister, it was negatived by a majority of forty-five votes; but some expressions in the Duke's speech led the public to believe that it was his intention, before long, to introduce himself some measure of concession. The subject in consequence became the general topic of discussion during the autumn, both in public and in private society. Under these circumstances Lord Colchester resolved, as the best mode of disseminating his recorded opinions on the question, to publish a collection of his speeches on the subject in both Houses of Parliament, with notes, and "preliminary observations on the present state of the question." These were sent to the press in November, and he was soon afterwards attacked by a severe return of the same complaint which twelve years before had obliged him to retire from the chair of the House of Commons. He went up to London previous to the meeting of Parliament in February 1829, but was not well enough to attend the debate on the King's Speech when the Government announced their intention of bringing forward measures for settling the Roman Catholic question by large concessions including admission to Parliament. On the 16th of February he exerted himself to go to the House to present a petition against the Roman Catholic claims, and to take that opportunity of declaring that his opinions had undergone no change, notwithstanding the unexpected sanction which had been given to these claims; and that *he* could not sacrifice his opinion and principles to the fears of His Majesty's Ministers, or to their apprehensions of danger from the discontented and disturbed state of the Roman

Catholics in Ireland. Then, after suggesting the propriety of a dissolution by which His Majesty would obtain the fullest knowledge of the opinions and wishes of his people, and the people might choose those representatives whom they would prefer for treating of, and consenting to, the great measures of which they would have been thus previously apprised, he concluded by asking, whether the Government intended to embody their proposed measures in one or more Bills; and in which House of Parliament they might be expected to originate. The Duke of Wellington in his reply, while declining to give the information desired, and denying that their measures had been suggested by fear or by intimidation, but were founded upon the clear and decided opinion that this question ought to be settled, alluded to the sacrifices made by himself and his colleagues, and in so doing "he begged the noble Lord on the cross-bench (Lord C.) to believe that not the least considerable, or the least disagreeable, sacrifice on his part, was the necessity imposed on him of differing from the noble Lord on this subject." *

This was the last time that Lord Colchester addressed the House of Lords. In the course of the following month (March) his malady had so much increased that he was confined to one floor of his house, but he continued to enjoy the society of his family, and to receive the visits of his political and private friends; and the physicians, though they considered the malady as painful and tedious, expressed no alarm as to the ultimate results. In this state (with some variations) he continued during the month of April and the first week of May. On the evening of the 7th his medical attendants paid their usual visit, and left him at ten o'clock to retire to rest, apparently in the same state as usual, but soon after midnight he complained of violent pain, and before any medical advice could be procured he expired, almost without a groan, in the seventy-second year of his age. His mortal remains were buried in the north transept of Westminster Abbey; where his ashes rest in the same vault with those of the great statesmen over whose debates he had during life presided.

* *Vide* Hansard.

DIARY AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

CHARLES (ABBOT) LORD COLCHESTER.

CHAPTER I.

1795.

CONVERSATION WITH THE DUKE OF LEEDS ON THE STATE OF THE COUNTRY AT THE DATE OF THE OPENING OF THIS DIARY (OCT. 1795). — MEETING OF PARLIAMENT. — THE KING INSULTED. — DIVISION ON THE ADDRESS. — BILL FOR THE SAFETY OF HIS MAJESTY. — BILL FOR THE PREVENTION OF SEDITIOUS ASSEMBLIES. — ADVANTAGES GAINED OVER THE FRENCH BY THE AUSTRIANS. — WESTMINSTER MEETING. — SECESSION OF FOX AND HIS PARTY. — MR. ABBOT'S COMMENTS ON FOX'S VIOLENT LANGUAGE. — THE BUDGET. — KING'S MESSAGE ON PEACE. — LOAN COMMITTEE. — LORD ST. HELEN'S VIEW OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. — CHARACTERS OF THE PRINCIPAL SPEAKERS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, Oct. 27th.—I arrived in town, and the next day dined with the Duke of Leeds *, with whom, after dinner, I had a long private conversation. He discoursed generally about the probable subject of the King's Speech; and expressed his own readiness for a pacification even upon the *Uti possidetis*.† I agreed with

* The Duke of Leeds, when Marquess of Carmarthen, had been one of the Secretaries of State on the first formation of Pitt's Ministry, but had resigned that office in 1791. He had the principal influence in the borough of Helston, for which place Mr. Abbot was M.P.

† The events of the war during the first year had been on the whole rather unfavourable to the French. Prussia, Holland, and Spain had indeed made peace with them, acknowledging the Republic, and engaging not to oppose the extension of the French frontier to the Rhine. But, on the other hand, we had made fresh treaties with Russia and Austria, engaging to

him on the desirableness of peace now that we had, by a war* just and necessary in its origin, outlasted all the danger of contagion from French Revolutionary principles; as the French themselves had abjured club government and the fraternisation of other countries: but I expressed my wish to see exactly what the King's Speech would be, and what would be the proposed amendment, if any. So we parted, and very cordially.

The best publications of the moment were Lord Auckland's on the appearance of things in Oct. 1795, and D'Ivernois on Assignats.

29*th*.—Parliament met. The King was scandalously insulted on his way to the House of Lords; and as he arrived within a few yards of Henry VIIth's Chapel, one of his coach-glasses was pierced by a stone, or bullet as it was rather supposed from the small circular hole which it made in passing through. There was an immense mob; violent cries of "No War," "Down with Tyrants," "No King," &c.; and stones and dirt were thrown in great quantities at the state carriage both in going and returning. The King was uncommonly collected and firm. After the supposed shot (for he himself conceived it to be such), he entered the House of Lords and read his speech with extraordinary firmness and spirit.

When the shot was fired, Lord Westmoreland and Lord Onslow, who were in the coach with the King,

supply the latter Power with large subsidies, which had enabled the Emperor, though defeated at Loano, in the north of Italy, by Augereau and Massena, to check the French on the Rhine, where Clairfait and Wurmser had retaken Manheim, and forced the French lines at Mayence. The British fleets had taken the Cape of Good Hope, and under Admiral Hotham and Lord Bridport had defeated the French in the Mediterranean and the Bay of Biscay; on the other hand a descent of the emigrants on the coast of La Vendée, which we had endeavoured to support, proved a complete failure. One of the most important events which took place at home in 1795, was the prosecution of Horne Tooke, Hardy, and others, for high treason; in which trial Mr. Erskine, afterwards Lord Chancellor, distinguished himself greatly as counsel for the prisoners.

* Hostilities had been commenced by a declaration of war against England being issued by the French Republic, Feb. 3rd, 1793.

were extremely agitated, but the King bade them be still; afterwards he said, "My Lords, you are supposing this and proposing that, but there is One who disposes of all things, and in Him I trust." When a stone was thrown at one of his glasses in returning home, he said, "That is a stone,—you see the difference from a bullet." When another stone was thrown which lodged in his sleeve, he gave it to Lord Onslow and said, "My Lord, keep this as a memorandum of the civilities which we have received."

The Prince of Wales delayed coming to the House of Lords till night; the Duke of York came at the usual time, and though hooted, was not personally hurt. Mr. Pitt, &c. passed in the same manner. The Lords did no other business than examine witnesses about the outrages of the morning. At eleven at night they held a conference with the House of Commons to desire their concurrence in an Address; owing to informalities in the message from the Lords, the Commons could not proceed that night.

In the House of Commons, the King's Speech being read, and the Address moved, Sheridan opposed it, but moved no amendment — Jenkinson answered him. Fox spoke next, and moved a long multifarious amendment, ending with a prayer to the King, to take immediate and decisive measures for peace. Pitt answered, and upon this point declared that "if the present crisis in France established the new Constitution * then under acceptance, as far as regarded this country he saw no

* The revolution of the 8th Thermidor (July 26th), 1794, which had destroyed Robespierre, was not consummated till the summer of this year, when the Revolutionary Tribunal was suppressed by a formal decree, and a new Constitution was promulgated, dividing the Assembly into two Councils, to be called the Council of 500 and the Council of Ancients; and vesting the executive power in a Directory, to consist of five members. The Jacobins and Royalists, however, coalesced to resist this new Constitution, and organised a formidable riot, which was crushed by the vigour of Napoleon Buonaparte, who had distinguished himself at the siege of Toulon in 1794, and to whom Barras, who was to be one of the Directors, now committed the military arrangements for the suppression of the disturbances.

obstacle to negotiation." The division was 240 for the Address ; 59 against it. The Opposition had expected to divide about 100. About 30 of the ministerial side were attending in the House of Lords, and were shut out from the division ; among whom was Mr. Wyndham, Secretary at War. And of the opposite side, some who came to town to vote with Mr. Fox, after hearing the amendment, went away without voting at all. Sir J. Thorold, M.P. for Lincolnshire, was one of this number.

30*th*.—In the Lords the King's Speech and Address were debated ; but, upon Lord Grenville making a declaration, similar to that of Pitt, the Duke of Bedford withdrew his amendment, which was a copy of Fox's.

31*st*.—Both Houses went up with a joint Address to the King upon the outrage to his person. Fox went with this. (Each House also presented its separate Address upon the King's Speech.)

Tuesday, Nov. 3rd.—The business of the House of Commons was brought forward. Pitt moved some immediate measures, and for the rest proposed a select committee. Fox gave a liberal and ready concurrence and approbation.

4*th*.—In the Committee of Supply, 110,000 seamen were voted, being the same number as for the preceding year.

6*th*.—Lord Grenville brought a Bill into the House of Lords for the safety and preservation of His Majesty's person and Government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts, according to the precedent of stat. 13 Car. II. c. 1, which passed in 1661, upon the meeting of the first Parliament after the Restoration. Lord Grenville prefaced the introduction of it by alleging the recent outrages on the King, and the tumultuous meetings of Thelwall, &c., at Copenhagen House, in the fields near Hampstead. In the evening I received the following note from the Duke of Leeds :—

St. James's Square, Nov. 6th, 1795.

My Dear Sir,—I am much flattered by your goodness in sending me a copy of your very useful work on the subject of the rules and orders of the King's Bench and Great Sessions in Wales. I wish much to have some conversation with you respecting the present Bill respecting High Treason, in order to gain some legal information on so very important a subject. The principle of the Bill I highly approve of, and sincerely lament the circumstances which seem to have rendered such a measure necessary. Lord Radnor, who, you know, is now and then singular in his opinions, strongly enforced the necessity of *making an attempt to destroy the Constitution High Treason*, as well as any similar attempt on the person of the King. The want of such a law, or at least such an interpretation of the existing laws, has always appeared to me a lamentable defect in our jurisprudence.

Ever, Dear Sir, affectionately yours, LEEDS.

I answered this note immediately, acceding fully to the principle of the Bill and to the principle suggested by Lord Radnor.

7th.—I called on the Duke and talked over the whole subject. None of the general histories, such as Rapin, Burnet, or Macpherson, nor any of the Debates in Lords or Commons, notice the stat. 13 Car. II. c. 1, very particularly. But by the Journals of the House of Commons, May 14th, &c., 1661, it appears that Serjeant Maynard *, and Finch, Solicitor-General (afterwards Lord Nottingham), penned some of the provisions, and that the Bill was much considered in the Commons, and Lord Hale, 1 P. C. c. 13, comments upon it.

10th.—In the House of Lords the Treason Bill was read a second time. Lord Thurlow spoke against it, but went away without voting. The Duke of Norfolk spoke against it but did not vote upon it, though he stayed the division. The Duke of Leeds spoke for the Bill and voted for it; the division was 59 to 7.

* "Sir John Maynard, the most learned lawyer of his time."—*Macaulay's Hist. of England*, vol. ii. p. 23.

In the House of Commons Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in a Bill for the more effectual preventing seditious assemblies; after warm speeches from Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Grey*, answered by Mr. Wyndham and Mr. Wilberforce, the House divided, 214 for the motion, 42 against it; Sheridan in his speech called the King's ministers "ten unacquitted culprits." This was a part of his invective. A call of the House was moved by Mr. Fox and assented to by the minister, with the general concurrence of the whole House.

11*th.*—Government received the account of the Austrians having driven the French back over the Rhine. In the evening the Lords went through the Treason Bill in a committee. Lord Thurlow again spoke against the Bill, and went away. Lord Kenyon spoke for the Bill.

12*th.*—The Seditious Assembly Bill was read a first time (in the House of Commons). Three divisions upon it took place: 1. Whether the debate should not be adjourned. 2. Whether the Bill should be read. 3. Whether the words "on Tuesday next," should stand part of the question for the second reading of the Bill. On the fourth question, whether the Bill should be read a second time on Tuesday next, there was no division. Fox was not down during any part of the debate. The numbers were 134 *v.* 22,—133 *v.* 23,—132 *v.* 21.

13*th.*—The Corn Committee resolved that Government should no longer buy corn for the public, but bounties should be given for the importation. 20*s.* per quarter for Europe South of Cape Finisterre, to the amount of 700,000 quarters; 15*s.* for America, to the amount of 300,000 quarters; and 15*s.* for the rest of Europe to the amount of 500,000 quarters, till August 31, 1796.

The Treason Bill passed the Lords; minority, 5.

* Afterwards, as Earl Grey, Prime Minister from 1830 to 1834.

16*th.*—Early in the morning a stage was erected in Westminster Hall for Fox's meeting of the inhabitants of Westminster to address the King upon his escape from assassination, and to petition Parliament against the two Bills pending, viz. the Bills against treasonable and seditious practices, and against the seditious assemblies. The Courts sat as usual, and at half-past eleven Gen. Tarleton mounted the stage and adjourned the meeting into Palace Yard, to prevent the disturbance of the Courts, which would have been more effectually prevented if the meeting had not been advertised for Westminster Hall, and if no stage at all had been built there. At twelve, Fox, the Duke of Bedford, Grey, Lord Lauderdale, Sheridan, &c., appeared on the new stage in Palace Yard: they proposed their address and petition, and severally harangued the mob; Lord Hood also spoke to announce his protest against that mode of taking the sense of the inhabitants. He was heard with great respect and temper, and at half-past one the whole mob dispersed; they occupied the area between the terrace of New Palace Yard and the stand of coaches along the Exchequer Walk, bounded on one side by the passage from Bridge Street straight down to Westminster Hall, and on the other by the streetway from Parliament Street to Margaret Street. I should suppose they were not in all more than 2000: some said 3000. Lord Hood, in the House of Commons, said the outside guess was 5000; Fox called them in debate 30,000.

The Treason Bill from the Lords was read a first time: the House rose at one in the morning: division for the reading, 147; against, 24. In the course of the debate, General Tarleton charged the Speaker * (most untruly) with partiality, and with calling the Opposition side to order when the other side of the House was in a greater uproar. The Speaker demeaned him-

* Mr. Addington, afterwards Prime Minister; and, as Lord Sidmouth, Home Secretary in Lord Liverpool's Ministry.

self with great dignity and feeling. The general at length made some sort of apology, and the House agreed that nothing respecting the charge should appear in the journals.

17*th*.—The Seditious Assembly Bill was read a second time. The debate lasted till two in the morning: for it, 213; against, 44.

19*th*.—Stone was arraigned for high treason in the King's Bench. Serjeant Adair and Erskine were assigned to him as his counsel; but his trial was postponed till next term, on affidavits of the absence of material witnesses in America and Scotland. The Treason Bill was read a second time in the House of Commons. For it, 64; against it, 22, but no debate, Fox giving notice that he should debate it on the question of the Speaker leaving the Chair.

20*th*.—Army Estimates voted: viz., 49,000 guards and garrisons; 77,000 for colonies and plantations; 42,000 militia; 13,000 fencible infantry; 10,000 fencible cavalry; besides yeomanry, infantry, and cavalry; and besides the Indian army. Reduction from preceding year about 25,000 men; in expense above 800,000*l*. Division on the fencible cavalry; for, 60; against, 16.

23*rd*.—The order of the day was for going into a committee on the Bill (from the Lords) for the Safety and Preservation of His Majesty's Person and Government, &c.; but there arose a debate upon a pamphlet incidentally mentioned by Mr. Sturt, who presented a petition against the Bill; it was a pamphlet alleged to be written by Mr. Reeves, chairman of the Crown and Anchor Association *; and the passage complained of

* On the first outbreak of the French Revolution, several societies avowing objects nearly similar had been set on foot in England, such as the London Corresponding Society, mentioned in the next page; The Friends of the People, &c. And in November, 1792, the Crown and Anchor Association was founded by a body of persons of opposite opinions, with the object "of defending the laws and Constitution, preserving liberty and property against republicans and levellers, assisting the civil magistrate in preventing tumults," &c. &c. — *Tomline's Life of Pitt*, vol. iii. p. 462.

(*inter alia*) stated that "the King made the laws," and that "the kingly government could go on in all its functions without Lords or Commons." The *whole* pamphlet was read; the Master of the Rolls * then moved, according to the precedent in Hasting's case, or rather Stockdale's case, that this debate should be adjourned, in order, as he said, to give each member time to read the whole before any vote upon it was to be proposed. Sheridan moved a censure upon it in the terms of the motion in Sacheverel's case, and pressed the vote immediately; but the House agreed to the Master of the Rolls' motion for adjourning the debate till Thursday. The order of the day was also adjourned till Wednesday. In the close of the debate, Fox stated, Sheridan re-asserted, and Grey explicitly declared, that if these bills became law, and the people of England asked "what they ought to do," they should answer that "*it was a question of prudence, and not of duty; and that nothing but prudence should restrain them from resistance.*" The words were much questioned, and their substance often repeated. Pitt said that, if the time was now come to draw the sword, he hoped those who armed for a good cause would show equal courage with those who drew the sword in a bad cause. The House rose at a quarter-past two. No division. Upon this very day the London Corresponding Society printed and distributed a sheet of paper setting forth their principles for the equality of rights and laws, Universal Suffrage, and Annual Parliaments; they concluded with asserting that if necessity should come, they would arm.

24*th*.—I received a petition from Helston, signed by twenty-four persons, as from the inhabitants of Helston, against the Seditious Assemblies Bill. I presented it to the House of Commons; and I wrote by the same

* Sir R. Pepper Arden, previously Attorney-General, and subsequently Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; raised to the Peerage as Baron Alvanley in 1801.

post to the Mayor to acquaint him that I had done so: but that my judgment was in favour of the principle of the proposed Bill for the prevention of Seditious Assemblies which they petitioned against, and that, subject to certain modifications and a limitation to three years, I should support it.

The whole sitting of the House was taken up by the call: and a division on the excuse of Lord Blandford, absent in Scotland: for whom a fortnight was asked on one side and opposed on the other (136 for it, 52 against it); and by the presentation of petitions together with the conversations upon each. Grey to-night explained his position of resistance to be *theoretical*, which in the preceding night he had stated to be *practically* applicable to the present occasion. The House rose at half-past two.

25*th*.—In the House of Commons the debate on the Seditious Assemblies Bill proceeded. Mr. Grant, K.C.,* made an admirable speech on the general state of political opinions and actions in the country at the present crisis, as warranting the lesser evil, and justifying the proposed Bill in preference to the risk of those evils which threatened us from the hostile principles and conduct of the disaffected individuals and societies now showing themselves. Mr. Fox replied upon the nature and adequacy of the provisions in the Bill as applied to the alleged state of the nation. The House divided on a motion to adjourn the debate for a week—(for it, 70; against it, 269); and afterwards for the Speaker leaving the chair, 272; against it, 70.

26*th*.—The House voted that a pamphlet entitled "Thoughts on English Government," printed by J. Owen, 168, Piccadilly†, is a malicious, scandalous, and seditious libel, &c. Fox, Sheridan, Pitt, Wilberforce, Adair, and Erskine spoke for the vote. The Attorney‡ and

* Afterwards Sir W. Grant, Master of the Rolls.

† Mr. Reeves's pamphlet.

‡ Sir John Scott, afterwards, as Lord Eldon, Lord Chancellor of England.

Solicitor-General * stated their reasons for not giving any opinion or vote, as they might subsequently be required to prosecute. Wyndham and Sir W. Dolben spoke and voted in exculpation of the pamphlet, but they were not supported by any other voices. Afterwards the House, according to a precedent in 1707, appointed a committee to inquire who was the author.

In the Court of King's Bench, Yorke, *alias* Redhead, convicted of sedition at the summer assizes for York, in consequence of his conduct and language at Sheffield, 1794, was sentenced to a fine of 200*l.* and two years' imprisonment, and to give sureties for his good behaviour for seven years.

In the House of Commons, the whole House went into committee on the Seditious Assembly Bill. Fox, and Grey, Lambton, Erskine, Jekyll, Curwen, Whitbread, &c. immediately left the House; and Sheridan also seceded as soon as the committee had gone through so much of the first clause as made it appear that the Bill was not to affect any meetings whatever upon the subject of any impending law; assigning as his reason that he would not endeavour to make the Bill less odious than it was, and declaring it ineffectual even for its own purpose, if it left unprohibited such meetings as might be convened about laws pending in Parliament, inasmuch as they might serve very well for 500,000 persons assembled at Copenhagen House; the Committee went through the whole Bill, and corrected it very materially upon some points, which I should otherwise have voted against.

At one in the morning the Committee divided on the question of making it *capital* not to disperse in an hour after the proclamation. For it, 80; against, 13. At half-past three another division took place for making the duration of the Act three years, 47; against it, 3. The House received the report of the

* Sir John Mitford, afterwards, as Lord Redesdale, Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

Committee, ordered it to be printed, and rose at four.

30*th.*—At one I saw the Duke of Leeds upon the subject of the Seditious Assembly Bill. In the House of Commons a debate arose upon the question of the Speaker leaving the chair.* For, 203; against, 40. Afterwards in the committee; for the duration of the Act for the life of the King, 129; against it, 7. The House rose at half-past twelve.

Tuesday, Dec. 1st.—The Report of the Seditious Assembly Bill was taken into consideration. Upon the question for a second reading of the amendments made by the Committee, Mr. Fox objected to the clause respecting houses opened *or used* for debates, &c., as unintelligible, unless it included all inns, &c., where political conversations might incidentally be had upon public occasions. After stating his objection, he seceded with his friends. The House proceeded in their business, and amended the amendments in this very particular amongst others, requiring such houses, &c., only to be licensed where the discourses or debates were had for the purpose of collecting money. The House rose at nine.

3*rd.*—In the House of Commons the Seditious Assembly Bill was read a third time. Division; for, 266; against, 51. The House rose at three. In the course of the debate I spoke for the Bill, being my first speech in Parliament. It had the good fortune to be well received by all my professional and political friends, and to overset Mr. Fox from his bias in that debate.† The Attorney and Solicitor-General, An-

* To go into Committee on Bill for safety of his Majesty's person.—*Comm. Journ.*

† Mr. Abbot's speech called forth an express reply from Mr. Fox; given in his speeches, vol. vi. p. 61, where it is prefaced by a statement that "Mr. Abbot, having made pointed reference to a former speech of Mr. Fox" (alluded to above, Nov. 23rd), in which he had declared that if these laws should be ratified by the Royal sceptre, he should tell the people of England that it was no longer a question of duty,—that it was no longer a question of moral obligation,—it was a question of mere prudence alone whether they should obey or resist,"—demanded "whether, if these laws should be

struther, Grant, the Master of the Rolls, and all my other professional friends, congratulated me.

4th.—The Treason Bill was considered on the report. The Opposition again seceded. Mr. Reeves's Committee was revived, and the consideration of the libel adjourned to this day week, in order to receive further evidence. Lord Mornington, Canning, Sir W. Williams Wynne, &c. &c., complimented me on my speech of the preceding day.

5th.—Dined with the Duke of Leeds. He told me the history of his commission from the Duke of Portland, &c. to the King for forming a new Ministry, in August 1792*, and his subsequent interview with Mr. Pitt. The Duke told me upon the subject of parliamentary conduct, that he looked to our living together as friends, and that he did not consider himself as having to intimate any wishes of his own about voting, as if to a dependent. For my own personal account and my gratification in the event, he expressed to everybody the fullest sense of his own satisfaction and delight, but as to the particular measure (the Seditious Assembly Bill), he should certainly vote against it when it came in the House of Lords to a third reading.

7th.—The Budget was opened by Mr. Pitt, and a division took place at eleven in consequence of a dispute as to the preference due between two sets of contractors. 137 to 27. Rolle, M.P. for Devonshire, told me

passed, he would again repeat his signal to the people of England, and bid them unfurl the standard of rebellion?"

* This negotiation in 1792 had reference to the proposed coalition between the Whigs and Pitt's Ministry, for which the Duke of Portland and his friends were very anxious, and to which Fox, though at first reluctantly, gave his consent, provided it could be so managed that "it should appear that they had not *acceded* to Pitt's Ministry, but had joined it on fair and equal conditions." "The Duke of Portland's idea was that Pitt should not keep the Treasury, but that some neutral man should be put there, such as the Duke of Leeds;" and the Duke of Leeds undertook to open the matter with the King because he conceived himself to be in especial favour with His Majesty.—See *Lord Malmesbury's Diary* for 1795, especially June 13th, July 25th, July 29th, vol. ii. pp. 425—440.

that the King had on Saturday spoken of me and Grant as the two persons who had distinguished themselves on the Seditious Assembly Bill.

8th.—In the House of Commons, with the King's message for a vote of credit came an addition to it, announcing that the crisis spoken of in his speech on the opening of the session had brought about that order of things in France, which removed all obstacles to negotiating a general peace whenever the enemy would treat upon terms consistent with the justice of our cause, &c. &c. The call of the House was ordered to stand for Friday next, upon an intimation from Mr. Ryder, Chairman of the Corn Committee, that a report would be brought up the next day, with the opinion of the Committee that an association should be entered into by the Members of the House, to take such steps of economy individually, as should tend to relieve the difficulties arising from the present scarcity of corn.

9th.—In the House of Commons the King's message on the subject of Peace was taken into consideration. An amendment was moved, praying His Majesty to treat immediately, and professing that no present or other form of government in France ought ever to stand in the way of treating for peace. The amendment was afterwards withdrawn.

10th.—In the House of Commons the Treason Bill from the Lords was read a third time, and passed; division at twelve o'clock. For, 226; against, 45. At the close of the debate, Fox, being called on about the doctrine of resistance, stated it to be this: "That if these bills passed and were executed to their full extent against the will of a great majority of the people of England, and no peaceable means of redress were left, then he should think obedience no longer a duty, but a question of prudence. And, moreover, he should tell the people he still thought it more prudent not to resist." Query, with all these new qualifications does it amount to less than this, that the passing of these

bills brings about a precise case which warrants a general insurrection if the people so please?

In the course of the evening Taylor held a conversation with me, in which, among other matters, he told me that Thelwall had been (as the Duke of Bedford had told him three days before) with the Duke of Bedford about a petition, and that the Duke had sent for him upstairs at his house in town, and had talked with him half an hour, but thought him a dull man. The Duke had told Thelwall if these bills passed he must still be peaceable or else he, the Duke, should be as adverse as any man to him. I immediately related this, as it was not told me in any confidence, to Annesley, M.P. for Reading, who was a friend of Taylor, and was sitting by me at the time, and also to Sir George Cornwall, who was sitting next to Annesley. I thought it right to tell it also to Garthshore and Canning, and afterwards to Francis Burton in the course of the evening, who advised me to make a memorandum of what had passed on this subject.

11*th*.—The call of the House of Commons was discharged, and the House agreed to an engagement, to be signed by such members as chose it in the office of the Clerk of the Journals, the effect of which was to reduce their own consumption of wheat bread by one-third, either by actual abstinence from one-third of their usual quantity of wheat bread, or by consuming bread mixed with substitutes of any sort, such as barley, rye, Indian corn, &c., wherein wheaten flour should not exceed two-thirds. They resolved also to communicate this resolution to the Lords in a conference. The principle of this association was professed to be the precedent in the reign of King William, when the members were called up to the table individually to sign or decline an engagement for the defence of the King. By the third Report of the Corn Committee, taken this day into consideration, it appeared that the deficiency of wheat for the current year was from one-

fourth to one-fifth, compared with an average crop, and the like as to rye; but barley and oats nearly the double of 1794, and one-fifth better than an average crop.

14*th.*—The House of Commons was very thinly attended upon the motion of Sheridan for burning Reeves's pamphlet by the hands of the hangman. At twelve the House resolved to address the King to direct the Attorney-General to prosecute him as the author or publisher. A division took place upon the final amendment about some formal words. For the address, 24, against it, 4; consequently the House adjourned.

In the Lords the Seditious Assembly Bill was read a third time: the Duke of Leeds spoke and voted against it, so did Lord Thurlow, Duke of Norfolk, Duke of Bedford, &c.: 14 besides proxies, to 67 besides proxies.

N.B. Breaches of privilege of Parliament, like contempt of Courts of Justice, seem distinguishable into actual and constructive: the first, being such as arise by violence or insult offered to its members or officers, from the necessity of the case require instant and summary punishment, which the offended party should inflict without delay, by commitment, attachment, &c.; the latter, viz. the constructive, by libels, &c., seem to require no deviation from the ordinary course of judicial procedure before the ordinary tribunals. In 1723, Dr. Middleton was fined summarily for a libel on the Court of King's Bench (see G. Med. & Fortescue, 20). But since that time no such punishment seems to have been enforced. Almon, who was so prosecuted, escaped by an informality in the affidavits, and Bingley, after two years' imprisonment under attachment, was discharged, although he refused to answer interrogatories. In the House of Commons "Droit le Roi," and "The Crisis," were ordered to be burnt by the hangman, in the beginning of George III.'s reign, but Murray and Stockdale were prosecuted by

information. See the precedents cited in the votes Dec. 14th, fol. 354, 355.

16*th*.—I presented to the King an address from the Volunteer Corps at Helston, signed by W. Johns, Major Commandant. The King asked me how long I had been in Parliament. I told him "Six months, in the room of Sir G. Elliott." He said, "You have left the Bar." "Yes, Sir." "You would have done very well there." "My health, Sir, obliged me to quit it." He then passed on. The levee was uncommonly crowded with addresses. Dined with the Duke of Leeds. After the rest of the company left us, the Duke and I got upon general politics, Fox, &c. I held the same language as I have ever done when invited to talk upon the subject, namely, "my high opinion of Fox's talents, temper, and liberality of sentiment, together with my low estimate of his judgment, and regret at the facility with which he has ever suffered mean men to govern him. That whilst I had a seat in Parliament I should ever look to that combination of men and measures which promised best for the country, without regard to one set of names in the Court Calendar or another. That in the present conjuncture, the union to be dreaded was that which I believed to have taken place between the Whig Club and the London Corresponding Society and its friends. That in other times the danger was comparatively small between contending parties, each holding principles within the compass of our constitutional existence; whereas our modern reformers professed universal suffrage, &c., and were, in fact, overturning us with the instruments of French republicanism." The Duke equally professed his abhorrence of the lengths to which the Duke of Bedford and Lord Lauderdale were running. Upon the subject of our opposite votes on the Seditious Assembly Bill, he freely discussed all his own reasons, and at the same time expressed the most entire satisfaction with my conduct and the sentiments of my speech; and that if I had had four votes instead of one,

he should most willingly have agreed to my giving them as I had done my own. He had declined to present the Helston or Hull petitions against the Bills, as they were sent up to be presented either by the Duke of Bedford or himself.

17*th.*—The Loan Committee sat at the House of Commons in the room over the Long Gallery; W. Smith in the Chair. Mr. Morgan's examination occupied from eleven to four. Adjourned to the next day at eleven.*

Dined at J. Bentham's. Met Lord St. Helens†, Wilberforce, and Romilly. Continental alliances, treaties, and subsidies, as occasions of expense to this country, were decidedly condemned by Lord St. Helens, upon his own experience and knowledge. Wilberforce strongly coinciding; and so I have thought always, and that the balance of power is not an object worth our lavishing great sums of money upon.

Russia. According to Lord St. Helens, the Empress personally well informed on all subjects of government. She has altered the inscription on Fox's bust, by putting on it, "In honour of *the* Charles Fox of 1791," viz. the time of the Russian armament and pacification.‡

Spain. According to Lord St. Helens, the state of society amongst the higher ranks exactly the same as represented in Gil Blas. The Grandees of Spain live all the year round in Madrid; they go once every day

* The Loan Committee was an open Committee, at which every one had a right to vote who attended, not a Committee of the whole House, as had been desired by the Opposition. The charge brought against Pitt by Mr. W. Smith was, that in distributing the loan lately raised, favour had been shown to those who had supported the Government on the Treason and Sedition Bills.—*Hansard*, vol. xxxii. p. 765.

† Lord St. Helens, as Mr. Alleyne Fitzherbert, had been our Ambassador in Spain from 1789 to 1794; and had previously been employed in the same capacity in Russia and at the Hague.

‡ In 1791, on the occasion of Fox opposing the meditated interference of England in the war between Russia and the Porte, the Empress Catharine, in testimony of her admiration of his eloquence, sent an order to her Ambassador in England to send her his bust, stating that it was her intention to place it between those of Demosthenes and Cicero.—*Moore's Life of Sheridan*, vol. ii. p. 113.

to mass and to Court, to see the King dine, who never speaks to them, and rarely notices them by a nod to anybody. The Ministers of State are ill paid — the Minister for Foreign Affairs has about 1500*l.* a year for his table. They are all laborious, and accessible at all hours, not giving in to the pleasures of the table or of society. The officers of the army or navy never come to Madrid. The Grandees never go into the country to their estates, except they are exiled to them; their rents are paid in kind; and, as their estates are under perpetual entails, there are sometimes eight or ten large properties centered in the same family; these are managed by their stewards, who barter the produce of one estate with that of another, and bring the surplus to market; but the great expense of such families is the largess of corn, oil, and wine, &c., distributed daily at their gates to the different attached families which belong to them as clients. A major-general, who by inheritance may be so attached, would make no scruple of sending every morning for his ration to the gate of the Duque d'Ossunas. The Inquisition is still an object of dread and reverence to Spaniards of all degrees. At Madrid a Spaniard will rather go any way round about than through the street of the Palace of the Inquisition. The Duque de Medina, although one of the bucks of the Court, is an alguazil of the Inquisition, and has been known more than once to go at midnight with the officers of the Inquisition to seize even a menial servant who has been denounced. Justice is venal, and imprisonment frequent and long; but other punishment is rare — especially capital punishment. All the handicraft trades have been for many years exercised by Frenchmen. When the Revolution in France broke out, and the two nations quarrelled, 150,000 Frenchmen are supposed to have been expelled from Spain.

The ladies of Spain are ill educated; those of Peru or Mexico extremely well. In Spain it is hardly thought proper for a man and his wife to be seen in the same

carriage. Jealousy is unknown,—their visiting parties dull, reserved, and uninteresting to foreigners. Portugal in all respects a more enlightened and enterprising nation. Townsend's "Travels in Spain" perfectly erroneous in its picture of society: his own manners precluded him from being well introduced into the interior circles; and Spanish is the only language there spoken. His physical remarks are also said to be very incorrect.

Franklin signed the treaty at Paris, whereby Great Britain acknowledged the American Independence, in the same coat which he had worn at the Privy Council when attacked by Wedderburn. It was the more remarked, because the Court of France was at that time in mourning; and several successive days having been appointed, on each of which some cause had arisen for postponing the business, he put on this old coat upon each of those days. He had particularly directed to have it packed up when he came from America to Europe; and when the inutility of bringing an old coat to France was objected to him by the people about him, he persisted, and said he had his reasons. Caleb Whitefoord, Secretary to the Embassy for negotiating the Treaty, signed a written declaration denying this circumstance of Franklin's dress; but Lord St. Helens brought it afterwards distinctly to his recollection, and he admitted it.

La Fayette at the same time solicited to be sent Ambassador to Great Britain, that he might, as he expressed it in English, "go to St. James's and insult George, with his American uniform on his back."

18*th*.—The Treason Bill, and the Seditious Assembly Bill passed this day, and received the royal assent by commission. No appearances whatever of riot.

19*th*.—I attended the Loan Committee from eleven till four. It was their third day's sitting. Mr. Morgan, the petitioner, still under examination. Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Francis, Mr. Hussey, Sir R. Burrell, Sylvester Douglas, Steele, Charles Townsend,

and the two Secretaries of the Treasury, Lord Mornington, Robert Smith, &c. &c., attended generally.

23*rd.*—Attended the Loan Committee. Adjourned till the 20th January.

24*th.*—House of Commons adjourned till February 2nd.

27*th.*—I read through an excellent book by David Davies, Rector of Barkham, Berks, upon the case of labourers in husbandry and their inadequate pay. It contains the proposition upon which Whitbread's Bill was brought into the House of Commons before the holidays, for enabling the justices not only to set a *maximum* of wages, but also a *minimum*—their earnings at present not being equal to their necessary expenses.

At the end of this, Mr. Abbot's first Session as Member of Parliament, he recorded his opinion of the principal speakers in the two Houses of Parliament in the following short characters.

IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Grenville.—Secretary of State for the Foreign Department; and the Chancellor, (viz. Lord Thurlow, until upon his becoming refractory he was succeeded by Lord Loughborough,) with Lord Spencer, Lord Hawkesbury, &c.; were opposed by Lord Guildford*, the Duke of Bedford and Lord Lauderdale, the Duke of Norfolk, &c.

Lord Grenville and *Lord Guildford.*—Both of them powerful and argumentative, but not elegant speakers.

Lord Loughborough.—With a dignified and ornamented elocution, very feeble in argument, and unconnected in his arrangement.

Lord Thurlow.—Infinitely more masterly in arrangement and profound in argument, and more powerful in language, with a singular talent of commanding his audience by the imposing gravity of his manner.

* Son of Prime Minister, Lord North.

Lord Lauderdale.—Fluent and acute, but raving with personal rancour and Jacobin violence.

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Mr. Pitt, acting with Secretary Dundas and a few personal friends, and supported by the general respect and goodwill of the country gentlemen and of the nation at large, was opposed by

Mr. Fox and a few of his own personal friends, together with the wreck of Lord North's party; abandoned recently by the Duke of Portland, Mr. Wyndham, &c., and supported chiefly by the republican party in the country. His constant coadjutors in Parliament were Mr. Grey and Mr. Sheridan.

Mr. Pitt.—Without a rival as a Parliamentary speaker in arrangement and elocution; and fairly matched with Mr. Fox in matter of argument.

Dundas.—In argument bold and cogent: always bearing upon the material point in debate; and conciliating all individuals by his frankness and good humour. Miserably Scottish in his accent, and inelegant in his arrangement and diction.

Wyndham.—Subtle, unguarded, fretful, and totally unapt for the transaction of public business in a public assembly. His friends always in pain while he is speaking, and his enemies clamouring to hear him in preference to any competitor for pre-audience.

The Attorney-General (Sir J. Scott).—Argumentative and copious in his matter, but involved in his style; always qualifying his assertions to a degree which does away their force, and too much inclined to draw the whole debate into a question about the vindication of his own conduct. One night, whilst he was in tears upon this topic, old Jack Robinson, who sat close to me, was snoring out loud.

Grant, William.—Speaking seldom, but always heard with the utmost attention and respect by all parties. In manner of elocution rising very little above the familiar tone of discussion, but always prepared with

important materials of argument, shrewdly and logically treated, lucid in their arrangement, impressive in the progress of their development, and by dint of excellent composition without any affected ornament, conclusive in their result and effect upon the minds of his hearers. At the bar of the House of Lords he was early distinguished in Scotch causes by Lord Thurlow, who said of him that he could turn an argument upon a pivot. In private life he is the coldest and most reserved man I ever knew.

Mr. Fox.—Vehement in his elocution, ardent in his language, prompt in his invention of arguments, adroit in its use; comprehensive in his view of the given subject, and equal to his political rival in the power of agitating the passions; but offending continually by the tautology of his diction and the repetition of his arguments. He feels this himself so much, as to think it necessary to vindicate it in private. And he so feels also his own inferiority in the selection of appropriate terms, that he says, "although he himself is never in want of words, Mr. Pitt is never without the very best words possible." In political judgment, and for guiding the helm of affairs and the interests of a party, his inferiority is perhaps still more marked than in any other point of his public character. Witness his conduct on the Coalition, in 1782; on the Regency, in 1788; and on the Seditious Assembly Bill, in 1795.

Grey.—Angry, declamatory, and verbose; implacable in his enmity to Pitt, and unconciliatory of the audience which he is daily addressing.

Sheridan.—Fluent in speech, shrewd in his conceptions, dexterous in argumentation, neat and ever terse in his prepared speeches, witty often when his subject requires gravity; the most active and mischievous partisan of the republican faction, playing off Fox as a constitutional opposer of the King's ministers, and acting himself, hand and heart, with the most desperate Jacobins. Witness his conduct upon the Trials

for Treason, in 1793, and his triumphs, with Erskine to his house, upon the acquittal of Thelwall.

Erskine.—Seldom attending the House; always elegant in his diction in Parliament, as at the Bar; equally desultory in his compositions, equally fond of making his own panegyric the principal theme. His power of commanding the passions of a jury, so justly celebrated beyond the reputation of all his predecessors in Westminster Hall, wholly fails of its effect in Parliament; perhaps the chief cause of this is the little degree of personal respect and consideration which he has established by the extravagance of his political harangues out of doors, at party meetings, and in his professional employments.

Jekyll.—First rate for convivial wit and pleasantry, and admired by all; is a frequent speaker, but positively without weight even in his own party; rancorous in language, feeble in argument, and empty of ideas; few people applaud his rising, and everybody is glad when he sits down.

It seems agreed on all hands that the style of Parliamentary debating is grown intolerably diffuse and prolix. The most marked period of the introduction of long speeches was Sheridan's five hours' speech upon the charge against Hastings, respecting the Begums.

The news writers take notes by connivance in both Houses of Parliament, although it is a breach of privilege.

It has been under consideration with distinguished members of both Houses to appoint short-hand writers, in order that as the debates are published, they may at least be correct; the party editors at present possibly misrepresenting or curtailing the speeches adverse to the interests which they are engaged to maintain.

The debaters themselves very rarely take any notes at all during the speeches which they intend to answer. Pitt and Fox, never.

CHAP. II.

1796.

BIRTH OF THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE.—ARMISTICE BETWEEN FRANCE AND AUSTRIA.—IRELAND'S SHAKESPEARE FORGERIES.—CAUSE OF THE DUKE OF LEEDS' RESIGNATION OF HIS OFFICE IN 1791.—TRIAL OF STONE.—WHITBREAD'S BILL ON WAGES OPPOSED BY PITT.—FORGED NEWS OF PEACE TO AFFECT THE FUNDS.—MR. GREY'S MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS FOR PEACE NEGATIVED.—MODE OF THE PUBLICATION OF THE STATUTES.—BURKE'S LETTER TO THE DUCHESS OF BEDFORD.—JEKYLL'S MOTION AGAINST PITT ON THE HAMBURGH TRANSACTIONS.—HUNTERIAN MUSEUM.—MR. ABBOT'S INTERCOURSE WITH THE SPEAKER ON THE SUBJECT OF THE EXPIRED AND EXPIRING LAWS.

Thursday, January 7th.—The Princess of Wales was brought to bed of a daughter at twenty minutes after nine this morning. I called on the Duke of Leeds, who had been in attendance all night at Carlton House with the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Chancellor, the Lord President, Duke of Gloucester, Duke of Devonshire, and Lord Thurlow. The Prince of Wales much agitated during the Princess's labour, which was long and difficult. It was by the Prince's particular invitation that the Dukes of Leeds, and Devonshire, and Lord Thurlow attended at Carlton House. The other persons were present as officers of State. The only memorial made was (according to precedent) by a paragraph for the *Gazette*, signed by the persons present.

8th.—The news arrived of a truce between the Austrian and French armies on the Moselle, and of the pacific declaration of the French Directory.—N.B. The news of the capture of Trincomalee came on the Wednesday preceding.

10th.—Dined with the Master of the Rolls, and met Sir W. Wynn, Sir W. Scott, and Dr. Pitcairn. The practice of physicians is so much altered of late years, that even in Dr. Mead's time (who died 1754)

no physician visited the ward of any hospital, nor ever saw the greater number of his patients. The business was transacted by consultations held at the physician's house with the apothecaries, who related the patients' cases. Dr. Mead used to go into the city to Batson's Coffee House and meet all the apothecaries, hear them, and prescribe. Dr. Friend and Dr. Radcliffe were both of them Members of the House of Commons.

13*th.* — Dined at Butt's, with the Solicitor-General, Sir W. Scott, Sir W. Musgrove, Malone and Cracherode, — the authenticity of Ireland's newly produced plays, &c., of Shakspeare was discussed. Malone, Sir W. Scott, and Butt against it; Cracherode and Sir W. Musgrove rather hesitating.

18*th.* — King, one of the Under Secretaries of State, told me the exact emoluments of each Under Secretary, viz., net 1500*l.* per annum, without any deduction or perquisite. Mr. Guest, when he resigned, was appointed Commissary-General of Musters, and Secretary of Greenwich Hospital, worth together, 1500*l.* per annum, and Burges from the same office was appointed to a place of 500*l.*, a year, viz., Knight Marshal, with reversion to his son, and also had a pension for his own life of 1000*l.* a year, and a baronetage.

20*th.* — I attended the Loan Committee, which was adjourned from before the holidays to this day. The examination of Mr. Boyd was finished, and that of Mr. Giles, Governor of the Bank, was begun.

22*nd.* — Attended (for the last time) the Loan Committee, the issue of which ought most manifestly to be favourable to Mr. Pitt's conduct, and establish the rectitude of his conduct in the negotiation of it with Boyd, Benfield, & Co., and their co-contractors.

Went to Mr. Ireland's, in Norfolk Street in the Strand, by appointment of Sir Philip Gibbes, to meet the Portuguese Ambassador D'Almeida, and see the newly produced manuscripts of Shakspeare. We saw the MS. play of Lear, and an entire new play of Vortigern and Rowena. Also his profession of faith,

letters to and from him, accounts, receipts, and deeds, &c., innumerable; besides his supposed library of books, to the number of seventy volumes at least, such as Spenser, and various chronicles and pamphlets of the time he lived in, interspersed with his marginal observations. A love-letter to his mistress, Ann Hathaway, whom he afterwards married, and a lock of his hair enclosed. Sir Isaac Heard, who was present, and had often seen these articles before, was firmly persuaded of their authenticity. *I am not;* doubtless the number of pieces produced makes the supposition of a forgery more difficult; but my opinion, as far as any can be formed on such an inspection, and hearing the accompanying narrative, is against their authenticity: 1. Because there is no great variety of Shakspeare's MSS. extant by which the authenticity of this specimen of handwriting can be judged of. 2. Because the paper appears to be artificially stained or darkened; and especially upon the printed books in those places only where the handwriting is inserted. 3. Because I do not think any of the compositions which I saw surpass the merit of many daily imitations in the newspapers. 4. Because if the internal evidence fails, or is inconclusive, the external evidence is of all others the most suspicious, and nearly destructive of their being true originals; for Ireland refuses to say where or from whom he procured them, and even denies that he knows it; they being delivered, as he says, by his son to him, and received by his son from some gentleman who will not suffer himself to be named. His story is further the more suspicious, because Shakspeare's reputation has now for so many years been celebrated, and yet no one fair or entire copy of any one of his numerous plays has ever been found; and here is not only a whole fair copy of the long play of Lear, but two new entire plays, also pretended to be entirely in his handwriting, whose titles never before were known, viz., Vortigern and Rowena, and King Henry II. It is to be noted

also, that a deed of trust from Shakspeare to Hemmings, the player, speaks of a play entitled Henry III., but even that deed does not mention Henry II.

I remember also, in a conversation with Mr. Malone, hearing him instance the following circumstances to prove the imposture:—1. That Lord Southampton's handwriting, produced by Ireland, is quite unlike all the specimens in the British Museum. 2. That Hampton Court, called Hamtown by Queen Elizabeth, in a supposed letter under her hand, never was so called without the addition of "Court" in her time. 3. That the words "derangement" and "acceded to" are modernisms, and unknown in Shakspeare's time, &c. &c.

If the whole be a forgery, as I think it must be,—at least till these two new plays are submitted to the public eye and judgment, for their contents to be ascertained and appreciated,—it is certainly a very elaborate forgery, and an unprecedented attempt to impose on the literary judgment of the public. Chatterton's were comparatively few and soon detected.*

24*th*.—Called upon the Duke of Leeds. Whilst I was with him, he read to me passages out of his political memoranda of events, before and during his being a Cabinet Minister. One of the passages was an account of Lord Holdernesse's resignation of the office of Governor to the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York, with the consequent dismission of Markham, then Bishop of Chester. Another was of the Regency business, and the proposal of sending Lord Loughborough† to the Tower, if he had persisted in his doc-

* Sheridan, who at this time was manager of Drury-lane Theatre, bought "Vortigern" for representation, giving 300*l*. and half of the profits for sixty nights, but it failed completely. And Moore says that Sheridan himself never believed in the authenticity of the play, and refused to sign a paper drawn up by Dr. Parr, in which the genuineness of the papers produced by Ireland was asserted.—*Life of Sheridan*, vol. ii. p. 195.

† Lord Loughborough addressed to the Prince of Wales a paper, stating "that the administration of Government devolved to him of right," and had urged him, "by his own authority, to place himself upon the Throne." But when a rumour of his having given this advice got abroad he solemnly

trine of devolution. A third was of the Duke's own resignation on the business of the Russian armament, on principle, and not from pique. His refusing to sign the Instructions to the British Minister at Berlin, retracting the prior engagements with the King of Prussia against Russia; the signing of them by Lord Grenville*; and the declaration of Lord Thurlow that such a measure was a new disgrace to be swallowed by the King's ministers, in addition to those which they had swallowed before.

28*th*.—Stone's trial for High Treason, in the Court of King's Bench, at bar; began at nine; 178 names were returned on the panel, of whom 111 were called over before a jury could be made, the rest being either absent, or, for the greater part, not qualified in the freehold to any amount. At half-past eleven, the Attorney-General, Scott, opened the prosecution. At half-past two the evidence was begun, and, nineteen witnesses being examined out of forty, the Court, at half-past nine, by consent, adjourned to the next morning at nine, not having taken any refreshment during the whole day. In the course of the day, Lord Lauderdale, Sheridan, and W. Smith, M.P., were examined, to prove that Stone had an interview with them, which he had solicited, for the purpose, as he said, of having their authority to send word by an American friend to Paris, that an invasion of England would be unsuccessful. This American friend was the Irish Rev. Mr. Jackson, afterwards convicted of High Treason at Dublin. Sheridan advised Stone to have nothing to do with Jackson, and to disclose the business to the

denied it, disclaimed the doctrine in his place in Parliament, and supported a motion for a Committee to inquire into the King's health.—*Lord Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. vi. pp. 187-195.

* Lord Grenville, in his correspondence as published by the Duke of Buckingham (Court and Cabinets of George III.), makes no mention whatever of his signing the papers mentioned above; nor, though he mentions the resignation of the Duke of Leeds, does he state the reason of it, but rather implies that it arose from private motives, which the duke did not wish to be generally known.

Secretary of State, but he never disclosed it himself; and Smith, M.P., and Vaughan, M.P., each gave Stone papers upon the subject, to show the impracticability of an invasion, with any chance of success for France. Sheridan, &c., who thought it treasonable, and did not themselves disclose it to any minister or magistrate, certainly were guilty of misprision of treason, by Stat. 1 & 2 W. and M.

29*th.*—The Court sat at nine. The evidence for the Crown closed at eleven. Mr. Serjeant Adair for the prisoner spoke till two, and the witnesses to the prisoner's character and general conduct occupied an hour. At three Mr. Erskine summed up the prisoner's case in a speech of two hours, and at five the Solicitor-General replied, which lasted till seven. Lord Kenyon summed up the whole in fifty minutes. The Jury withdrew at eight, and at eleven brought in a verdict of Not Guilty, upon which there was a loud huzza. Lord Kenyon fined one Thomson 20*l.* and committed him.

31*st.*—No frost or snow hitherto during the whole of this winter, except a slight fall one evening in November last, not sufficient to cover the pavement.

Tuesday, Feb. 2*nd.*—Parliament met. Addresses of course were voted to the King and to the Queen on the birth of the Prince of Wales's daughter. Grey gave notice of a motion on Peace with France for Monday the 15th.

4*th.*—No business of importance in the House. The telegraph at the Admiralty was finished this week, and the signals conveyed to Deal in seven minutes by the medium of thirteen intervening telegraphs.

8*th.*—No Ministers in the House of Commons to-day, nor since Wednesday last.

11*th.*—First day of frost this winter. Maurice Robinson made his motion in the House of Commons for preventing Members from contracting or sharing in foreign loans guaranteed by Parliament. For the motion, 19; against it, 70.

12*th.*—In the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt opposed the second reading of Mr. Whitbread's Bill for enabling

Magistrates to fix a Minimum for the Wages of Labourers in Husbandry. He objected that it was either creating an engine of oppression if the magistrates in the exercise of their power fixed the rate too low, or a source of profusion if they fixed it too high; and that if they had information and ability enough to adjust it accurately, it was only doing what would happen better by leaving labour to find its own value, which it would do if left unfettered. He threw out as a better scheme of policy the expediency of facilitating this purpose by unfettering the poor from their restraints under the present law of settlement, and allowing them to seek employment in any parish without being removable on account of their becoming casually chargeable. He suggested also the propriety of giving pecuniary relief only to the impotent, and to those families which exceeded a certain number of children; of giving relief to others not in money, but in employment, for which they should receive hire: of establishing schools of industry for educating the children of the poor according to Lord Hale's and Mr. Locke's projects; and of subjecting the whole to a new system of inspection and Parliamentary control, with an annual report, in the nature of a budget, on the subject.

A forged gazette from Paris was circulated to-day, containing a pretended treaty of peace between France and the Emperor.

18*th.*—I received a letter from my constituents, requesting me to support the Abolition of the Slave Trade; which I answered by acquainting them that I had bestowed attention upon the subject, and, as I had made up my mind to the same conclusion, I should have great pleasure in voting conformably to their wishes.

Two millions were sold out of the Stocks yesterday at an advanced price, on account of the forged news of peace between France and the Emperor. But the Stocks, which had risen from 67½ to 70, fell down again in the course of the same day.*

* It was subsequently proved in a court of law that the forgery was the work of the proprietors of the *Morning Post*, and that it was sent by them

15*th*. — Went with Brooks to Lloyd's Coffee House, and met Messrs. Curling and Bell, two of the Committee of Underwriters, with whom we conferred, and left a paper requesting the underwriters and merchants interested in whatever concerned the agents, pilots, packets, correspondence, &c., of the Scilly Islands, to communicate their observations and wishes to the Duke of Leeds, who, as Lord Proprietor and Governor of the Islands, would give their wishes the most effectual support in his power.

This day the House of Commons negatived Mr. Grey's motion for an address to the King, desiring him to communicate directly to the Government of France his disposition to treat for peace. Mr. Pitt alledging that things were now in train to receive offers or make offers if France was sincerely disposed to treat. For the motion, 50; against it, 189. Adjourned at half-past seven in the evening.

16*th*. — Informed myself from the King's Printer, Strahan, of the mode in which the Statutes are published from the original record. Each separate Act is engrossed upon a separate roll by the Clerk of the Parliament, and dated with the day when it receives the royal assent, and is deposited in the Parliament Office, with a number put upon it according to its numerical place in the order of passing; but it has no sections marked in the body of the engrossment, nor are there any breaks or divisions into clauses or paragraphs, otherwise than by the introductory words of each clause being engrossed in German text. They are not punctuated, nor are there any marginal notes of their contents.

From the Parliament Office there is delivered an office copy of each Act, or sometimes a printed Bill compared with the roll (for expedition's sake), to the

to the other English newspapers in order to discredit them as the channels of early intelligence. The *Telegraph*, which had been deluded into the publication of the pretended armistice, brought an action against the proprietors of the *Morning Post*, and recovered 100*l*. damages.

King's Printer, who afterwards corrects his proof by the original roll. But the printed numerical series of chapters differs from that of the rolls, because the printer only prints the Acts which are of a public nature or made public by the Statute itself, and he confines his series of numbers to this distinct class of Statutes. Whereas the original rolls are numbered thoughout and in their order of passing, comprising private and public together. It also sometimes happens that, if the subject of the Statute require unusual despatch in printing, it takes priority also in the number affixed to it by way of chapter, and precedes in the book even those which were passed before it.

The printer also numbers the clauses and affixes the marginal notes expressing the principal matter of each clause. He also puts in the punctuation, and moreover subjoins an abstract of each Act.

As the Road Acts are always numerous, and not public in their nature, yet are made so by a special clause for the purpose, of late years these are printed separately from the other public Acts, and make no part of their numerical series. The black-letter type ceased to be used in 1792, and the small Roman type was first used for the Acts of 1793; the expense of the printing is not much reduced by that change, but the bulk is reduced about one-fourth, and the reading rendered more easy to common eyes.

18*th.*—Went to the Marine Society, where I communicated to Lord Romney and Sir Jos. Andrews the offer of the Duke of Leeds to grant one of the smaller Scilly Islands, or a part of one of the larger, for the use of the Society, if they conceived it useful and consistent with their plan for the Education of Channel Pilots.

Went afterwards to Mr. Strahan, the King's Printer, and inquired of him further particulars respecting the mode of printing the Statutes. About 1200 copies are printed annually for the use of Members of both Houses and for the Public Offices, containing what are called

the Yearly Collections, and about 3000 copies of the quarto which are printed from the folio. The chaptering the Statutes is a modern introduction into the Yearly Collections, and the numbering of the sections in that edition was begun in 1792 or 1793. The Treasury pays the whole expense of printing out of the Civil List.

In the House of Commons leave was given to bring in a Bill for Abolishing the Slave Trade in a time to be limited. Wilberforce moved it, Pitt and Fox spoke for it, Dundas and Sir W. Young against, and Jenkinson also. Carried by 93 to 67. Adjourned at ten o'clock.

19*th*.—In the House of Commons leave was given to bring in a Bill for making the Westminster Police Act perpetual, which after strong debate was granted.

The Treasury letters of notice to Members of the House of Commons, who support Administration are distributed by four carriers according to lists left by the Secretary of the Treasury at the Stationery Office in the New Palace Yard.

20*th*.—Dined at the Speaker's. We were twenty in number. Lord Bridport, Sir George Beaumont, Sir A. Edmonstone, Sir W. Scott, Lascelles, Colonel Beaumont, Mr. Adams, Sir H. G. Calthorpe, Bankes, Burton, Wilberforce, Powys, Parker, Coke, Metcalfe, E. Bouverie, Bramston, and Mr. Gipps and the Chaplain. We dined in a vaulted room under the House of Commons, looking towards the river,—an ancient crypt of St. Stephen's Chapel. We were served on plate bearing the King's arms. Three gentlemen out of livery, and four men in full liveries and bags. The whole party full-dressed, and the Speaker himself so, except that he wore no sword. The style of the dinner was soups at top and bottom, changed for fish, and afterwards changed for roast saddle of mutton and roast loin of veal. The middle of the table was filled with a painted plateau ornamented with French white figures and vases of flowers. Along each side were five dishes, the middle centres being a ham and boiled chicken. The second

course had a pig at top, a capon at bottom, and the two centre middles were turkey and a larded Guinea fowl. The other dishes, puddings, pies, puffs, blancmanges, &c. The wine at the corners was in icepails during the dinner. Burgundy, champagne, hock, and hermitage. The dessert was served by drawing the napkins and leaving the cloth on. Ices at top and bottom; the rest of the dessert oranges, apples, ginger, wafers, &c. Sweet wine was served with it. After the cloth was drawn a plate of thin biscuits was placed at each end of the table and the wine sent round, viz. claret, port, madeira, and sherry. Only one toast given —"The King." The room was lighted by patent lamps on the chimney and upon the side tables. The dinner-table had a double branch at top and at bottom, and on each side of the middle of the table. Coffee and tea were served on waiters at eight o'clock. The company gradually went out of the room, and the whole broke up at nine.

The rule is for the Speaker to give his first Saturday's dinner to the Ministers and their friends in office, who are Members of the House of Commons. His first Sunday is for the Opposition, and afterwards his parties are promiscuous,—chiefly his private friends and those who visit his levee on Sunday evenings. There were twenty-three persons at the Ministerial dinner. At the Opposition were three persons not in full dress, nor powdered, viz., Grey, Whitbread, and General Tarleton, but he came in his uniform. Fox was full dressed and powdered.

22*nd*. — In the House of Commons, Grey moved to put off the third reading of the Vote of Credit Bill for three weeks. Grey and Fox insisted that the true use and meaning of such a vote and Bill were for the supply of extraordinaries which might occur after the rising of Parliament, and during the summer recess: for which reason it was an unconstitutional measure to bring it forward early during the sitting of Parliament as a mode of paying past instead of future ex-

penses. Pitt insisted that it was more constitutional to bring it forward with the ways and means as a part of the general revenue of the year, it having been expressly included in the calculation of the amount of the supply required: and therefore more fair than to bring it forward at the close of the session to be thrown into the unfunded debt. For postponing the third reading, 25; against it, 102.

W. Smith, upon the report of the Loan Committee, moved a long string of resolutions which were ordered to be printed, and the debate was adjourned to Friday.

23*rd*. — Went to the Parliament Office in Abingdon Street, and inquired the state of the Statute Rolls which are lodged there, from 12 Hen. VII. to the present time. Each Statute on a separate roll numbered according to the order of their receiving the royal assent, indiscriminately, without distinction of public and private. No material business to-day in the House of Commons.

Rigby, Lord Hawkesbury, and Lord Stafford, and old Drummond the banker, in a company, where Hatsell was present, upon calculation, estimated the outside living expenses of every person having town house and country house of his own to be 6000*l*. a year.

24*th*. — Burke's letter against the Duke of Bedford appeared, upon the subject of the motion respecting Burke's pension. In his best style of imagery and invective against sansculotte dukes, but with no details about his own particular pension. Lady Jersey is said to have put the Privy Seal to a grant of timber in Cornwall, which has been cut down, and the money paid to her. And about six months ago Macewan and another of the pages, supposed to have been privy to it, were sent to live in Scotland.

To-day the House of Commons negatived a motion for leave to bring in a Canal Bill, upon a report from the usual Committee. This is the second of the sort within these ten days, both considered as uncommon,

but warranted by the larger proportion of dissenting landowners. The first was the Kennet and Avon Canal, this the Great Western Canal from Bristol to Poole.

25*th.*—Saw Mr. Phillips, the Duke's Steward of the Scilly Islands, and heard his answer to the complaints made against him by Captain Brown, commanding officer of the garrison.

A few nights ago, Lady Jersey was invited with the Prince's party to the Queen's House, and put to a card-table with the Princess Augusta and Lady Holdernesse. The Prince of Wales in the course of the evening repeatedly came up to her table, and publicly squeezed her hand. The King sees and disapproves of the Carlton House system. The Queen is won over to the Prince's wishes by his attention and presents in jewels, &c.; the Princess says, her father (the Duke of Brunswick) told her to observe everything, but say nothing.

The public entertainments for this winter are. The Opera on Tuesdays and Saturdays; Drury Lane and Covent Garden every night. The Antient Music, twelve Wednesdays in the Opera House Room; the Opera Concert twelve Mondays at the same place; and Salomon's Concert at the Hanover Square Rooms on twelve Thursdays; besides Oratorios on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent.

26*th.*—In the House of Commons, upon Mr. W. Smith's motion of censure upon Mr. Pitt, for his conduct in the Loan, the debate lasted till half-past three in the morning. For the motion, 23; against it, 171.

27*th.*—Bread 15*d.* the quartern loaf.

A slight fall of snow; the first this winter since November.

28*th.*—Sunday. Dined at Edward Law's *; supped at the Archbishop of York's. Burke's history was the subject of conversation at both places. The Solicitor-

* Afterwards Lord Ellenborough, Lord Chief Justice of England.

General said he knew that Burke started in life with 19,000*l.* He was first employed under the Duke of Northumberland, when Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland*; and wrote all the papers of that time extremely well: he was afterwards brought into Parliament by Lord Verney; and Charles Townsend, the then minister, complimented him on his first speeches, and proposed to his friends, as his circumstances were narrow, a seat at the Board of Customs or Excise, which would have excluded him from Parliament. He gave 21,000*l.* for Gregory's, at Beaconsfield: *i.e.*, he paid 11,000*l.* and mortgaged the estate back for 10,000*l.* It consisted of house, 200 acres of park, and farms besides, producing a rental of 450*l.*

The Archbishop of Canterbury told me that Lord Auckland had shown him, printed at Paris in a collection of papers belonging to the late King of France, a letter from young Burke to the King, dictating to him in imperious terms particular measures for his conduct, and assuming the tone of more than an equal. The letter was docketed by the King as from Mr. Burke, the son.

In all companies Burke's letter upon the Duke of Bedford is condemned as injudicious, though admired for its wit and imagery.

Feb. 29*th.*—Attended the Wakefield Bill Committee. Wilberforce invited me to dine with him. In the evening a debate arose upon Jekyll's motion against Mr. Pitt, upon the transaction of the Hamburgh Bills. Division against the first motion, 109; for it, 24. Afterwards, in the direct motion of censure, the Speaker declared the Noes to have it; but Sir W. Young insisted that the Ayes had it, whereupon a second division took place. Ayes, 8; Noes, 108. And Sir W. Young divided with the Noes. As soon as the division was over, Mr. Grey complained to the Chair against Sir William Young's conduct, and desired the Speaker's opinion. The Speaker said it was unbecom-

* In 1763.

ing, and inconsistent with the rules and practices of the House. Sir William Young cited a precedent of Sir James Johnstone, who had done the same thing in 1772 without censure. Mr. Whitbread, General Tarleton, and others, pressed for a vote of censure, but were at a loss how to frame it. Mr. Ryder and Mr. Pitt maintained the right of any member to divide the House, whether he voted with or against those whom he had asserted to be the majority. The discussion ended by proceeding to the order of the day.

The Speaker's foundation for his opinion was that, whoever contradicted the Speaker's assertion as to which were the majority, ought to support his assertion by his opinion expressed by voting accordingly. Mr. Pitt's argument was that the right turned not upon a contradiction of the Speaker's declaration, but upon a right to ascertain the numbers, which could only be done by denying the Speaker's assertion; that in practice the minority, when they divided the House, never professed to believe that they were the majority, and that the practical utility required that the House and the public should be enabled to see and estimate the proportion of assents and dissents expressed upon any question. Hatsell says that usage is as the Speaker now insisted.

Tuesday, March 1*st.*—In the House of Commons the Legacy-tax Bill was reported and re-committed. In a committee upon the high price of corn, all sides agreed that, though there was a scarcity, it was much exaggerated; and that corndealers were an advantage to the country by aiding in the distribution, according to the relative wants of the country.

3*rd.*—In the House of Commons, upon the second reading of the Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, the division was :—For it, 64; against it, 31.

4*th.*—Communicated to Francis Burton the outline of my proposed motion; and report respecting the expired and expiring laws. In the House of Commons Curwen moved for leave to bring in a Bill to repeal the

Game Laws. For the question of adjournment, 27; against it, 50. It was then resolved that the House would resolve itself into a committee of the whole House on * to take the Game Laws into consideration.

5th.—The Duke of Leeds told me this morning that the Duke of Grafton was with him yesterday, and commended Belsham's "Memoirs and History of the House of Brunswick and George III." The Duke of Grafton† has written notes in the margin of the first volume for the author's use upon a second edition. Lord Orford‡ also speaks highly of the book, though it is not correct in all its anecdotes. The Duke described Burke's last pamphlet to be "Billingsgate in Buskins."

6th.—Brigadier-General Bentham is at length appointed Inspector-General of the Navy, with a nominal salary of 750*l.*, and additional incidents amounting to 500*l.* a year more. His first merit with the Admiralty has been their plan of improvements at Portsmouth Dockyard, by enabling them for their present estimate to treble the capabilities of the Dockyard for the public service. He has also constructed two ships of war and two advice boats with double keels upon a new scheme of body and rigging.

7th.—Attended at one a committee for inquiring into the utility, durability, and value of the late Mr. Hunter's Museum. Examined Mr. Home and Dr. Baillie, the trustees; also Messrs. Cruikshank, Blizard, Cline, and Abernethy, surgeons and lecturers. In the House there was a division upon the motion for the Speaker leaving the chair, and then going into a committee on the Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Against the committee, 37.; for it, 78. Went through the Bill and reported it. This and all the preceding debates upon the business, except the first, this year, have been dull and ill-sustained by the Anti-Abolitionists.

* Blank in the original.

† The same duke who had been Prime Minister in 1756.

‡ More generally known as Horace Walpole.

This the tenth day of frosty weather. Bread at 1*s.* 3*d.* the quartern loaf; finest wheaten flour per assize. The second bread is sold by the bakers at 1*s.* 2*d.* per quartern.

10*th.*—Attended the Committee on Hunter's Museum, and examined Sir Joseph Banks, Pres. Roy. Soc., Sir George Baker, M.D., Sir C. Blagden, M.D., Dr. Fordyce, Dr. Pitcairn, Dr. Grey, Dr. Shaw, and Mr. Planta. Vansittart's* answer to Morgan's pamphlet upon the finances was published to-day. In the House of Commons Mr. Grey moved for a committee on the state of the nation, particularly respecting its finances. His chief charges were, a violation of the Appropriation Act, by transferring sums to services for which they were not granted; and a false statement of payments in the Disposition paper. He objected also to the barracks, Transport Board, use of the Vote of Credit, and magnitude of the Bank advances. Neither Mr. Pitt nor Mr. Fox spoke. Mr. Dundas and Sheridan were absent. At eleven the House divided. For the motion, 45; against it, 207.

11*th.*—In the House, Jodrell's motion for leave to bring in a Bill for anatomising the bodies of convicts executed for burglary and highway robbery was negatived, as tending to confound the distinction of crimes, as that sentence hitherto belonged only to murder. Leave was given on Mr. Curwen's motion to bring in a Bill for repealing certain laws made for the preservation of game. Division on the question of the Speaker's leaving the chair: for it, 36; against it, 27.

Burton mentioned to the Speaker† my idea of a Report upon the Expired and Expiring Laws. The Speaker was extremely civil; begged me to send him my papers, and to call upon him on Monday morning at eleven.

13*th.* — Yesterday the weather changed and the

* Lord Bexley.

† "I had not been many months in Parliament when Mr. Addington, then Speaker, received me with that entire confidence which gave me the countenance and support which were of the greatest help to all my Parliamentary undertakings, and more especially upon my outset in the House of Commons." — C. A. 1817.

thermometer, which for ten days preceding had been at 30°, rose to 50°. The Speaker sent me a note, expressing "the great satisfaction which he had received from the perusal of my papers," and appointing me to call on him to-morrow morning at eleven.

I dined at Sir Philip Gibbes's, and met Lord Hardwicke, Bryan Edwards, the historian of the West Indies, and Monckton, M.P. for Stafford. Bryan Edwards gave us an account of the insurrection, in 1791, at St. Domingo, of which he had been an eye-witness. He had thought of publishing a narrative of it, and has actually printed it. He, together with Lord Penrhyn and Mr. Minshull of Jamaica, has held conference with Mr. Dundas upon the gradual abolition plan.

Bryan Edwards is a heavy looking man, thick made, and middle sized, not unlike Sir W. Young or Paul Benfield; his conversation on his own subjects is interesting, but his language very awkward and inelegant; which surprised me the more, as the style of his history is in general excellent, and in many parts uncommonly beautiful.

14*th.* — At eleven I went by appointment to the Speaker. He repeated the satisfaction which he had received from reading my papers, and said that they contained many very important matters; that he supposed they must have taken me much time, and that I had not originally in view the idea of a revision of the whole Statute Law. That he much approved of the idea of promulgation, and that it was most surprising that this should stand upon its present footing; that probably it would be best to enlarge my proposed instruction to the committee, so as to comprehend all that the report extended to; or to divide the matter by first limiting it to a register of expiring laws, and then upon a suggestion in that report "that other important considerations had occurred to the committee," a further instruction might be grounded to enlarge the powers of the committee so as to comprehend the

whole subject; that as to promulgation, it might perhaps be best at the end of each session to appoint a committee to report upon what Acts ought to be transmitted to the sheriff for the use of magistrates, and thereupon, from the King's Printer's copy, each county might print at its own expense a sufficient number for its own use.

He desired my leave to keep the papers for a few days; that there was nothing in them that he did not highly approve, and even in the phraseology of them. That he wished to show the papers to two or three persons, and particularly to Mr. Hatsell*; and that he would afterwards beg to see me again. He asked me if I had any particular idea as to bringing forward the matter this session or the next. I told him I had no particular wish as to time, although I thought the expiring laws should be investigated this session. But I should be happy in every part of the matter to be governed wholly by his directions, as it could not possibly be in better hands.

In the afternoon Burton went to the House and spoke to the Speaker, who expressed himself pleased and "astonished;" Burton also mentioned the matter to Pitt, who expressed his cordial approbation and his intention to talk with the Speaker on the subject, and with me also.

To-day I met the Committee at Hunter's Museum, and saw it. It was proposed that the Surgeons' Company should have the care of it, and the use of it for public lectures, if Government would purchase it.

* Chief Clerk of the House of Commons.

CHAP. III.

1796.

BILL FOR ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE LOST.—QUARRELS BETWEEN THE PRINCE AND PRINCESS OF WALES.—PITT'S HABITS.—STATE OF TRADE, ETC., IN THE PORT OF LONDON.—MR. ABBOT MAKES PITT'S ACQUAINTANCE.—HISTORY OF PICHEGRU.—MR. ABBOT MOVES FOR A COMMITTEE ON THE STATUTE LAW.—IS INVITED TO STAND FOR ABINGDON.—BILL FOR DUTY ON SUCCESSION TO REAL ESTATES.—RULES WHICH THE SPEAKER LAYS DOWN FOR HIS CASTING VOTE.—DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.—MR. ABBOT IS RE-ELECTED FOR HELSTON.—WESTMINSTER ELECTION.—COMPARATIVE STRENGTH OF PARTIES IN THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

MARCH 15th.—The House of Commons to-day proceeded to the question of taking into consideration the report of the Bill for abolishing the Slave Trade. Pitt and Fox spoke for it; and Dundas and Rose against it. For postponing it to this day four months, 74; against it, 70. The House rose at half-past eleven.

16th.—In the House of Commons the project of wet docks for the city was referred to a select committee.

The Prince of Wales has been endeavouring to persuade the Duke of Wirtemburgh's Commissioner to ask the Princess Augusta instead of the Princess Royal. The Queen openly patronises Lady Jersey. The Prince and Princess of Wales within these three days have had an open difference, but at the Opera last night affected an extraordinary cordiality.

17th.—Dined at Butt's with the Solicitor-General and Lord Muncaster. Lord Muncaster was an early political friend of Mr. Pitt, and our conversation turned much upon his habits of life. Pitt transacts the business of all departments except Lord Grenville's and Dundas's. He requires eight or ten hours' sleep. He dines slightly at five o'clock upon days of business, and

on other days after the House is up; but, if thrown out of his regular dinner of one sort or the other, he becomes completely ill and unfit for business for a day or two. This has happened to him in the present session. He will not suffer anybody to arrange his papers, and extract the important points for him. In his reception of the merchants, when they wait upon him, he is particularly desirous of satisfying them that his measures are right. Lord Hawkesbury, on the contrary, entertains them with telling them what he knows of their business, instead of hearing what they have to tell him.

Lord Howe is made Admiral of the Fleet, 1600*l.* per annum, in the room of Admiral Forbes, just dead. It is an old promise of thirteen years' standing; and the King gave Lord Howe his hand to kiss the other day at court, upon this appointment, without any previous solicitation, or even Lord Howe's knowing that Forbes was dead. Lord Howe still keeps the command of the Channel Fleet.

The Archbishop of York and Mr. Morris, late the American minister at Paris, were conversing this evening upon the best books for political knowledge of governments. The archbishop named Dionysius of Halicarnassus's account of the reign of Servius Tullius, and his account of the institution of the Comitia Centuriata, to exclude the rabble from power, instancing the fate of Cicero, whose sentence of exile was obtained from the Comitia Tributa, convened by the tribune, and reversed by the better citizens convened in the Comitia Centuriata. Mr. Morris preferred Machiavelli on the first decade of Livy, and next to him Montesquieu. That the favourite of the people and idol of the rabble becomes always by necessity a tyrant. Tarquin, Dionysius, Agathocles, &c., were mentioned.

18*th.*—No business in the House of Commons; but Popham, an old M.P., represented to me that I was disorderly in wearing my spurs in the House, as none but *county* members were entitled to that privilege.

The Solicitor-General and James Eliot afterwards told me the same.

20*th.*—Adair called upon me, and we fully discussed the practicability and utility of a revision of Statutes, and an immediate report upon the expired and expiring laws. At half-past nine I went to the Archbishop of York, being the last public evening for the season, viz., the last Sunday before Easter.

21*st.*—In the House of Commons, General McLeod moved an Address to the King for an account of the Maroon War in Jamaica, upon intelligence that blood-hounds had been imported from Cuba for the purpose of hunting them, but the motion was withdrawn without a division, no certain information being received of any use being made of these dogs.*

22*nd.*—The House of Commons went through the report of the Personal Succession Tax Bill.

23*rd.*—I attended the Committee on the General Enclosures Bill, and suggested some amendments. Dined at Wilberforce's with the Bishop of Llandaff and others. The bishop said, 1000 copies, viz. the whole of the first edition of his "Apology for the Bible"† had been sold off in the course of the preceding week.

* Lord Balcarras, the Governor of Jamaica, published some letters in the newspapers, avowing that he had sanctioned the importation of the dogs, which had taken place "at the instance of the General Assembly of Jamaica;" and justifying the measure on the ground that it had been adopted not for purposes of aggression, but for the *defence* and *protection* of the inhabitants against "a most dangerous and ungrateful rebellion." He affirmed that, by the confession of some of them who had been taken, "the Maroons had taken an oath to kill every white person;" that they were superior in numbers to our own troops; that they occupied an almost inaccessible district in the centre of the island, suited for all kinds of ambushes, in planning which they exerted consummate skill and ability; and that from these ambuscades there were no other means of driving them out but by the employment of these hounds. And he laid down, as a general principle, that means were permissible in self-defence which were not allowable for objects of attack, instancing the custom of regular war, which allows a fort when attacked to employ red-hot shot, but forbids a ship of war to employ it in attacking.

† Dr. Watson. The book in question was written in reply to Thomas Paine's "Age of Reason," and the bishop was apparently justifying its title from an objection made to it by the King, who at the levee praised his book, but said "he did not know that the Bible wanted an apology."

He justified his giving to his book the title of "Apology" upon the authority of Tertullian, Minutius Felix, and all the Fathers who had written in defence of religion.

To-day I received from Mr. Manning, M.P., who presented the petition of the merchants, &c., for the new wet docks at Wapping, some papers of which the following are extracts, showing the progress of the port of London in trade and shipping.

OUTWARDS FROM GREAT BRITAIN.

	Tons, English.	Tons, Foreign.	Tons.	Value.
1688	190,533	95,207	285,800	£4,086,087
1792	1,396,003	101,152	1,565,154	£24,905,200

BRITISH TRADE.

Port.	Year.	Inwards. Ships.	Tons.	Outwards. Ships.	Tons.
London	1751	1,498	198,023	1,139	140,792
,,	1792	2,489	451,188	1,708	310,724

FOREIGN TRADE.

London	1751	184	36,346	152	33,051
,,	1792	1,186	152,243	501	87,708

SHIPPING BELONGING TO THE PORT OF LONDON.

	No.	Tons.	Under 200 Tons.	200 to 500.	700 to 1300.
1732	1,417	178,557	1,212	203	
1792	1,860	374,000	1,109	634	95

N.B.—In 1732, ten ships of 500 tons, and none larger except two of 700. In 1792, twenty-two ships between 500 and 700 tons.

24*th*.—In the House of Commons, Long, Secretary of the Treasury, told me that he was extremely glad that I had undertaken the matter of expiring laws, and, as an instance of the necessity of such an investigation, he mentioned the Expiring Law Bill at that moment receiving the royal assent, which, among other Acts, continued one that would have expired to-morrow.

In the evening I went to Montague's, where Mr. Morris, the American, was invited. Morris is a tall, well-made man (with one leg), an open, bold, and

manly countenance, an intelligent look, and a clear, distinct, oracular way of talking upon all political subjects. His freedom of speech made the French apply for his recall from Paris, where he had resided as American minister. He was of opinion that the Duke of Brunswick's retreat from Champagne was merely the effect of an extraordinarily rainy September, which stopped all his supplies. That the true road to France lay by Dunkirk, Calais, and the course of the Seine, taking shipping for convoys and retreat; that Alsace and Flanders were both of them impregnable frontiers; that the failure of success on the part of the Allies first arose from their inconsistent professions and projects of dismemberment, which made all Frenchmen prefer belonging to France distressed rather than become the subjects of Austria, &c., at peace.

He had travelled over Scotland, and mentioned the Forbeses of Callendar, as a family risen from a capital of 300*l.* Forbes having told him his history from a petty tradesman in Scotland, through his employment in coppering the Royal Navy, &c., till he had bought as part of his property an estate of 10,000*l.* a year. The credit given to punctuality by all commercial men in this country afforded him the means of obtaining this surprising elevation.

25*th.*—Finished my Lord Berkeley of Stratton's Journal, MSS., a very interesting diary of the life of a very honourable man who had passed many years in the service of the late and present King near their persons; as Captain of the Yeomen, Captain of the Pensioners, Treasurer of the Household, and Constable of the Tower. His anecdotes are curious, and most of the characters well drawn. Great details of court etiquette and manners; with striking portraits of Lord Grenville, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Hardwicke, the first Lord Chatham, Mr. Fox, Mr. Legge, Mr. Charles Townsend, Lord Bute, George II., and the present king.

28*th.*—At twelve. I went to Sir John Sinclair's Committee on the Enclosure Bill, and stayed till four.

Mr. Pitt, Wilberforce, Barker, Solicitor-General, Master of the Rolls, &c. &c., and others attended it. Some of the first clauses were amended; but two principal difficulties arose, and the Committee, after much desultory conversation, adjourned to Wednesday. These difficulties were, first, the sort of tribunal: quarter sessions, commissioners, or who they should be, who should be empowered to ascertain the right of the persons claiming title to the commons to be enclosed. And secondly, the ratio of compensation to each lord of the manor and tithe owner.

29*th*.—Brooks applied to Rose for the actual and approaching vacancy of boatmen's places at Helston; which Rose readily promised, and expressed himself obliged to the Duke of Leeds for personal civilities. I accordingly wrote to Helston. N.B. The Duke told Brooks that he thought it odd that he and I should have differed on the only two political questions of this session; but that he did not care much to talk about such matters.

30*th*.—At twelve I attended the Enclosure Committee. Mr. Pitt there. Various clauses were discussed, but we ended in the same difficulty about finding a proper tribunal for the preliminary adjustment of the rights of parties. We rose at four. In the course of the Committee I had occasion to make some remarks, which upon reconsideration I do not think were very well founded. Mr. Pitt came round the table and talked them over with me. This is the first time that we ever exchanged a word or appeared to know each other, and the first of the Cabinet Ministers who ever spoke to me since I came into Parliament.

In the evening sketched out some provisions for the purpose of removing one difficulty of the morning.

31*st*.—This morning the Solicitor-General came to talk over my proposed clauses for the Committee on Waste Lands. Afterwards I went to the Master of the Rolls and stated to him my ideas of the best mode of deciding the preliminary questions of right upon enclo-

sure agreements. I showed him the detail upon paper, which he approved as the best mode hitherto proposed for this part of the Bill, but expressed his conception of the impracticability of the Bill as a universal measure; and suggested the idea of trying it at first for some one county only. He desired to keep my papers till the afternoon.

A curious circumstance occurred to me to-day, demonstrating the absolute necessity of a complete register of expiring laws. Shelton, Clerk of Arraigns at the Old Bailey, a very correct and intelligent officer, to whom I had written for information on the subject, mentioned the instance of the Act 25 Geo. III. cap. 46, for removing offenders in Scotland to places of temporary confinement, which was suffered to expire in 1788, when the Act 24 Geo. III. cap. 56, for the removal of offenders in England, was continued by Stat. 28 Geo. III. cap. 24; and this accidental expiration of the Scotch Act was so much unnoticed that Muir and Palmer were actually removed from Scotland and transported to Botany Bay, though there was no statute then in force to warrant it.

Saturday, April 2nd.—The Waste Land Committee was attended as usual by Mr. Pitt, Wilberforce, Dundas, Wallace, &c. &c. I proposed my clauses, which were received. The Committee expressed themselves much obliged to me, and Mr. Pitt told me that I had done more for Sir John Sinclair than anybody had.

I dined at Montagu's, and went afterwards with him to the representation of Vortigern, a pretended play of Shakspeare, but in truth a miserable cento and parody, patched up principally from Macbeth, with a character of Queen Katharine, and a scene or two imitated from As You Like It. Nothing for which an original character or idea might not be found in Shakspeare, and nothing not expressed in the worst taste. The play was heard with patience into the third act, then it was laughed at, and hissed and laughed at to the end, and then not suffered to be given out again.

4*th*.—Called on Sir John Sinclair by his desire, and settled the draught of a clause for the Enclosure Bill according to the minute which I had prepared at the last meeting of the Committee; went to the House. Walked home with the Master of the Rolls, who told me he had communicated to Mr. Pitt at Holwood, the motion upon which I had given assistance in the Waste Lands Committee.

5*th*.—The Waste Lands Committee sat again and proceeded to settle and adopt my proposed clause. Serjeant Adair attended; Mr. Pitt did not. In the House the Dog Tax was agreed to.

6*th*.—Mr. Pitt sent me in the evening a printed copy of his Bill for the Relief, Instruction, and Maintenance of the Poor.

7*th*.—At eleven I called upon Sir John Sinclair, and settled some of the clauses of his Bill; at twelve, Bankes and I went and settled some more of them in the Committee, where I stayed till after three.

At half-past five D'Ivernois and some others dined with me. Pichégru's history, as D'Ivernois told it, is this:—First he was a monk, then ran away and enlisted; was bought off; enlisted again: rose from the ranks to be Quarter-Master. In that capacity, between subaltern and officer, he studied much; made himself master of Latin; Studied Cæsar's Commentaries; and when the late King was forbidden to go to St. Cloud, Pichégru, being then at Strasburg, in garrison, told his general that it was time to draw his sword for the King; then or never. His general thought otherwise. Pichégru told him that if that was to be the case he did not think himself bound to stand by a party that must inevitably lose. He resigned; retired into Franche Comté, his native country; became instantly a colonel of a volunteer regiment, and rose rapidly to the rank of general, in which station even the emigrants spoke respectfully of his conduct and honour.

8*th*.—I went to the House. Upon the question of Inquiry into the Barrack Accounts, there was a debate;

and at ten a division. Against the Inquiry, 98; for it, 24. The chief argument for barracks, besides their conducing to good discipline, was, that it cut off all improper intercourse of the soldiery with the people at evening hours, in public houses, where seditious or traitorous seduction might be practised; without preventing their general intercourse at other times sufficiently for them to have a common sentiment with the public.

Lord Malden pays 21*l.* a year for the enclosure in front of his house, next the Green Park.

The Princess of Wales dines always alone; and sees no company but old people, put on her list by the Queen, Lady Jersey, &c. She goes nowhere but airings in Hyde Park. The Prince uses her unpardonably.

10*th.*—Sir John Sinclair sent to see me about his Bill. Lord Muncaster desired to thank me in the name of the country gentlemen, for the time and pains which I had bestowed upon the Bill.

11*th.*—At eleven I went by appointment to the Speaker. He made apologies for having kept my proposed Report so long. Said he had communicated it to Hatsell and Ley. That nothing in his time or before his time, that he knew of, had been proposed of a nature so useful; and spoke much of the ability, &c., with which the whole was drawn up. Approving, also, upon reflection, of the particular mode in which the motion was framed, although it had at first struck him differently. He settled the list of the Committee that I should name. He wished me to give notice to-day, and move it to-morrow; and if possible, bring up the Report within a fortnight or three weeks: even if some parts of the Appendix of Expired Laws were less complete than they might be rendered by some future Committee; the main object being to have the Report laid upon the table and printed, and put into the possession of the public against another year. He desired to keep my Report till Wednesday, that he might show it to Mr. Pitt.

At twelve I attended the Waste Lands' Committee, and staid there till after three. Between four and five I gave notice of my motion*, and suggested that, as it would not probably occupy for many minutes the attention of the House, by possibility Mr. Sheridan might allow it to precede his motion which stood for to-morrow. Mr. Sheridan said he conceived it must occupy a much longer time, but he did not mean to go at length into his own motion, and therefore it might come on. Having spoken to the Master of the Rolls, Adair, Powys, C. Townshend, Sir Adam Ferguson, J. Mainwaring, I wrote in the evening also to the Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, Charles Yorke, and Hawkins Browne, to have their leave for naming them on the Committee.

12*th.* — I wrote to the Duke of Leeds to acquaint him with my intended motion: and at half-past four I found the House sitting and unemployed. This day's motion was postponed. I made mine. Serjeant Adair seconded it very warmly, and I then named the Committee. The Speaker told me afterwards that he was glad to see the House took the matter well.

15*th.* — Ordered my Committee to be summoned for Wednesday the 20th at one o'clock. The Speaker returned my papers to me.

18*th.* — The Speaker gave leave for the Waste Lands Bill to be printed as I settled it, with the clauses numbered, and marginal notes added to each clause in explanation of its contents: this being the first instance of the sort. But this innovation was afterwards countermanded. In the House, Mr. Pitt this day opened his supplemental budget of services to the amount of 7,500,000*l.*; the interest of a loan for this sum, being 575,000*l.*, he proposed to provide for by a tax of 20*l.* per tun on port wine, being, at the rate of an importation of 30,000 tuns, like the preceding year, 600,000*l.* A debate ensued which lasted till twelve o'clock, but no division.

* For Committee on Expiring Laws.

19*th.* — The Attorney and Solicitor-General returned me my draught of proposed report on the Temporary Laws, with a few corrections in pencil.

20*th.* — Before I left my chamber I prayed (as I have uniformly done upon every material event of my life) for success in the principal business of the day — my Committee on the Statute Law. At one o'clock the Committee met in the room over the long gallery. I was put into the chair. Of the fourteen members of the Committee there were present thirteen; Sir Wm. Scott alone being absent. We went through a complete detail of evidence upon the existing state of the Parliament Rolls, Statute Rolls, printed compilations of the Statutes: examining Mr. Topham of the State-paper Office, and Mr. Strahan the King's Printer, besides inspecting the Long and Short Calendar of Statutes in the Parliament Office. Agreed to move for leave to report from time to time, and adjourn from place to place.

21*st.* — I moved for power to the Committee on Temporary Laws to adjourn from time to time and from place to place, and sit notwithstanding the adjournment of the House: and to report from time to time.

22*nd.* — Sir John Sinclair brought up the report of his Waste Lands Bill. Ordered to be printed.

25*th.* — In the House the Dog-tax Bill of Mr. Dent was thrown out, and Mr. Pitt gave notice of a new Bill for the Revenue. The Westminster Police Bill was agreed to be continued for five years, and to the end of the then next session.

25*th.* — In the House, Adair gave notice of his Bill in ease of the Quakers, and to render their affirmation admissible in evidence upon criminal cases. Harwood, Wilberforce, the Attorney-General, and myself of the Committee.

27*th.* — Met the Committee on Temporary Laws at the British Museum: inspected three papers in the Harleian MSS. and divers passages in the journals and other printed books. The Committee Clerk entered

them upon our minutes. And the Committee authorised me to write to the principal public offices for their accounts of expired and expiring laws.

28*th*.—The House was this day employed in a debate upon the production of papers respecting the West Indian Expedition, but no division. On the second reading of the Bill for the Maintenance of Curates, a question arose whether this was not a Money Bill, and ought not to have originated in the Commons. Accordingly, the order of the day for the second reading was postponed till Monday.

29*th*.—The report is, Lord Auckland is to be the Secretary of State for the Home Department, vice Duke of Portland, who is to be President of the Council, vice Lord Mansfield, who retires.—N.B. But this did not happen.

30*th*.—Selwood, Town Clerk of Abingdon, and Bowles, of the Corporation, called me out of the Court of the King's Bench. The electors at Abingdon * are 240 scot and lot; about 70 of them take money. About half of the 240 go with the corporation. The Dissenters, headed by the Tomkiss's and Fletchers, are the next best interest. Child, the brewer, and his friends, have also considerable weight. If all three sets can agree, they carry the place in defiance of all opposition. The corporation sent to sound me. I answered as to my present secure situation, but would think of it, and endeavour to know what Child thought of me; but the whole subject to my further consideration. The election (unopposed) would cost within 300*l*., and annual subscriptions afterwards about 100*l*. a year. Politics free.

Monday, May 2nd.—Colonel Cawthorne † was expelled the House. A division took place on the question of ad-

* Abingdon was Mr. Abbot's native town, but he ultimately declined the offer of representing it in Parliament, from consideration of his obligations to the electors of Helston and to the Duke of Leeds.

† Colonel Cawthorne had been convicted of fraud and embezzlement by court martial, and the House proceeded on that verdict, without itself entering into any investigation of the charges taken to have been proved.

journment. For adjourning, 12; against it, 108. Colonel C. read a defence in his place. Mr. Pitt amended the question of expulsion by inserting the reasons extracted from the charge and sentence, expressing his conduct to be infamous, &c.

3rd.—In the evening the Curates' Bill went to a committee in the House of Commons. An Amendment, for empowering bishops, in case a living exceeded 450*l.* per ann., to add one-sixth of the excess to the curate's stipend, was negatived; 33 to 14.

4th.—At four o'clock, there being only 28 members in the House, it adjourned; and consequently the impeachment question, which was to have been moved by Mr. Grey, went off.

5th.—The House went through the Curates' Bill. A division took place on the Real Succession Bill, whether the Speaker should leave the Chair. Against it, 24; for it, 65.

6th.—At one o'clock had the third meeting of the Committee on the Temporary Laws. I communicated to them the different returns made from the public offices, &c. &c. Delivered in a statement of instances of statutes which had expired undesignedly, and of an important nature. Received the direction of the Committee to prepare the Report. In the House, Mr. Grey moved Resolutions for Censure, as a ground of impeachment against Mr. Pitt, for a violation of the Appropriation and Pay Office Acts; on both of which grounds Mr. Pitt made a full and complete defence. For the motion for the order of the day, 209; against it, 38. Adjourned at nine to the next day, though it was Saturday.

7th.—Kydwake, for insulting the King on the 29th of November, on his way to Parliament, was sentenced by the Court of King's Bench to-day to five years' imprisonment in the Penitentiary House at Gloucester, to be pilloried at the end of the first three months, and to give security at the end of the five years for his good behaviour for ten years more, in his *own* recognisance of 1000*l.* The House met for business of course.

9*th*.—In the House there was a division upon the Real Succession Tax: 81 for it; 52 against it.

10*th*.—In the House Fox moved an Address upon the state of the nation, with regard to the war. He spoke from half-past five till a quarter before ten. Mr. Pitt spoke till a quarter past twelve. Fox replied for three quarters of an hour. The division at one was:—For the Address, 42; against it, 216.

The Lords sat on a similar motion by Lord Guildford, till three; for it, 10; against it, 110.

11*th*.—My Committee met for the last time. We examined Mr. Cowper, Clerk-Assistant to the House of Lords; and then my Report was read and agreed to.

12*th*.—Settled with the printer as to the form of printing my Report and Appendix. Presented my Report to the House, and afterwards the Speaker gave leave for printing 1000 copies, and the order for printing a sufficient number for the use of the members; 75 copies to be delivered to my order. Upon the Bill for a Duty on Succession to Real Estates, three divisions took place. For reading the Bill now, a third time, 42; against it, 46. For reading the Bill this day three months, 53; against it, 54. For reading it to-morrow, 54 against 54. Whereupon, the numbers being equal, the Speaker said it became his duty to give the casting vote; that upon all occasions when the question was for or against giving to any measure a further opportunity of discussion, he should always vote for the further discussion, more especially when it had advanced so far as a third reading; and that when the question turned upon the measure itself,—for instance, that a bill do or do not pass,—he should then vote for or against it, according to his best judgment of its merits, assigning the reasons on which such judgment would be founded. Accordingly, the question was carried for a third reading to-morrow; but Mr. Pitt then said, upon a measure where the numbers were so equally balanced, retaining his opinion in favour of the Bill, he should himself to-morrow move to postpone it for three months; meaning to give it up.

14*th.*—In the House, upon the third reading of the Quakers Bill, Robert Smith, M.P. for Nottingham, proposed a clause by way of rider, for discharging out of prison two women in gaol at Nottingham, committed by process out of the Ecclesiastical Court for contempt in not appearing to a suit brought for trying the validity of their marriage; which process they refused to obey on account of scruples of conscience peculiar to their mode of faith. The Speaker acquainted the House that the thing was unusual, it being an enactment upon a new matter never before mentioned on the original bringing in of the Bill, nor in any prior stage, and that the title of the Bill had no relation to any such object. The Master of the Rolls vehemently objected on the same ground, and on the mischievousness of such a practice in other cases. The clause was then withdrawn, and Sir Wm. Scott suggested a mode of liberation independent of any parliamentary interposition.

15*th.*—Went with Vernon to Stainforth's in Berkeley Square. He promised us the writs for Cornwall immediately from the Chancellor's house whenever they were sealed, and before they were carried to his deputy. Ours was the fifth promised in this convenient way. Vernon got it for us by means of his friendship with one of Stainforth's intimate friends, and our engagement of honour to deliver it as fast as possible.

19*th.*—At one I went down to make a House. At three the King came. The mob very inconsiderable and very orderly. The day beautiful. The state coach, which had been broken 29th October, was repaired, and the glass panels all round removed, and their place filled up with solid panels. In going from the House of Commons to the House of Lords the rush of people interloping from the clubs' rooms and passages was indecent and highly inconvenient. The strangers excluded most of the House of Commons from their places below the bar of the House of Lords.

The Speaker made a long, grave, and dignified speech, recounting the principal topics of the whole session.

The King's Speech also was long; it announced at the outset his intentions immediately to call a new Parliament; and it complimented the present Parliament upon its transactions from the first session after its election. The Chancellor then prorogued the Parliament till the 5th of July. Upon the Speaker's return to the House of Commons he read a copy of the King's Speech, and then the House separated.

27*th.*—The Helston election came on at eleven. The Corporation assembled at the inn and we all proceeded, to the hall. Of the 19 electors 16 were present. The absentees were Mr. Rogers, Mr. Harris, and Mr. Hall, detained by the gout at Penzance. The election was unanimous. We had been previously desired not to give any election entertainment, but to commute that expense for a subscription of 100 guineas each to remove the Cornage Hall and rebuild it in a more convenient part of the town.

31*st.*—Went to the opera. The Princess of Wales upon her entrance and departure was applauded with a transport of affectionate respect. She was unattended except by her household, viz., Lady Carnarvon, Mrs. Fitzroy, and her Vice Chamberlain. Prince Ernest was at the opera, but did not go into her box. The Duke of Leeds sat in the Princess' box the whole evening. She said, "she supposed the public had been acquainted with what was only 'trop vrai.' That the Prince had not spoken to her for three months past; but that she had nothing to reproach herself with," &c. &c.

Monday, June 13*th.*—At three o'clock to-day the Westminster election ended. Fox was 300 ahead of Gardner. Between four and five o'clock his procession through Pall Mall. He was carried in a gilt state chair mounted on a small platform, and backed by an alcove of laurels. Immediately before him went a dozen butchers with marrowbones and cleavers, and three banners inscribed "Fox and Peace," "Fox and Liberty," "The Man of the People," besides a banner for each parish in Westminster. The mob appeared to

consist of about 2000 persons. It moved on very quietly, huzzaing from time to time, and deposited Mr. Fox at Devonshire House, from whence he was drawn in Lord Robert Spencer's carriage, between five and six o'clock, to the Shakespeare Tavern to dinner. No mischief happened; and in the evening there were some few illuminations.

16*th*.—Went to the Parliament Office in Abingdon Street to compare the proportion of Private and Public Acts in each session. Found, upon an average of ten years, that the Private Acts were always one-third of the whole mass; and in three or four instances amounted to the half. Afterwards by appointment to Strahan, the King's Printer, to discuss the best means of increasing the promulgation of the public statutes without augmenting the expense to the public; and at the end of an hour and a half the best project seemed to be to exclude from the present large impression which is made at the public cost and for the public use, all the Public and Private Acts, such as roads, canals, bridges, churches, drainage, &c., being two-thirds of the total mass of Public Acts; and to employ the cost of that portion in increasing the number of copies of Acts strictly public, nevertheless printing also about 200 copies of the Public and Private Acts, and 100 of the Private Acts for reference when wanted by the persons interested in the matter of them. The distribution of Public Acts to be made, besides the 1000 copies now printed additionally, also to all clerks of the peace, and under sheriffs, and acting justices of the peace, and the chief magistrates of all towns corporate. The public ones to be distributed to clerks of the peace and under sheriffs over and above the superior courts of justice, inns of court, royal, university, and other public libraries. The private to be only deposited in the superior courts at Westminster, inns of court, and such libraries as are above specified.

18*th*.—In consequence of a message from Mr. Strahan I called upon him. He showed me that upon examining the accounts of the contents of each class of statute

upon on average of ten years the Acts strictly of a public nature were about one-third of the whole number; the other two-thirds being Local Public Acts, such as canals, bridges, churches, &c., besides the Road Acts, which were less in amount than the strictly Public Acts; and he was of opinion that if upon the whole present impression of 1126 copies of Acts Public and Local Public, the latter class were deducted and only 200 copies of them were printed, it would enable him to supply above 1500 additional copies of the Acts which were strictly public, and as such wanted for general circulation. Upon his account the average expenses to the public of printing all the Acts appeared to be about 6000*l.* The distribution of the 1126 copies is 988 in sheets, almost all of which are waste, and the rest in bound copies, viz. 60 Privy Council, 13 House of Lords, 1 M. Rolls, 1 King's Proctor, &c.

Afterwards I obtained from the Crown Office in the Rolls' Yard a proclamation writ, and a list of the counties, cities, towns, &c. to which royal proclamations are sent. It is remarkable that none are sent to Wales.

19*th.*—The conduct of the Princess of Wales seems to have been the most discreet and amiable which in her peculiar situation could be expected. She has addressed herself to those whom the Prince has pointed out to her as *his* friends and friends of the Royal Family, viz. Lord Thurlow, Duke of Leeds, &c. The King is still in ignorance of great part of the transactions relating to this disagreement.

20*th.*—Delivered to Mr. Forster, at the King's Bench office, a list of twelve instances in which the Judges of the King's Bench and their clerks had of late years, in breach of the ancient practice of the Court, and for their own emolument, and in diminution of the stamp duties and evasion of the stamp laws, assumed a power of making orders at chambers instead of deciding the matters in question by Rule of Court, in all which instances, without being over strict in attention to my own profits, there certainly was great injustice done to my office, and for which the remedy was not very easy,

as the appeal lay to the judges themselves, whose interest was directly against me.

Burton dined with me and showed me his Oxford election bills; viz.: for three days' joint canvass, and two days of election for Burton and Annesley's committee of charges, 600*l.*; after which the interest of Burton and Annesley having been separated, the charges incurred between the evening of the second day of election and the middle of the third day, when the election closed, were 1108*l.* Add to these expenses about 400*l.* London expenses.

The Woodstock election expenses used to be about 300*l.* to Burton, when he changed for the City of Oxford at the request of the Marlborough family.

24*th.* — Sir Francis d'Ivernois came to talk about Pinto's treatise on Circulation and Credit, published forty years ago, containing an idea referred to in Smith's Wealth of Nations, 3rd vol., but without mentioning Pinto's name; viz.: that the national debt is a new capital, and *quoad hoc* a national benefit. Smith condemns it. D'Ivernois conceived the idea to be well founded before he discovered it either in Pinto or Smith. Indeed I think that Pinto is right so long as the debt created maintains its credit and value by not being carried beyond the reputed means of paying its interest. Government borrows of a merchant one guinea; pays that over to a soldier and gives to the merchant an inscription on the bank books which is accepted by him as of equal value; thus the representative sign of wealth is doubled and continues to be so whilst the stocks continue transferable with a regular payment of interest.

Sunday, July 3rd, to 10th. — I was on a visit to Briscoe at Hookwood: we had fires on account of the coldness of the weather on the 4th. There was a strong white frost on the morning of the 8th, and it rained more or less every day.

24*th.* — I rode up to Hampstead with the Master of the Rolls, where the Chancellor joined us. As he had

not noticed to me the fate of the Bill which I drew for him last November by desire, I rode apart with some other friends, until, upon joining company the Chancellor apologised "for not having thanked me for the Bill which I had been so good as to draw for him; but that he had not been able to prevail in Doctors' Commons; that they were prodigiously alarmed, and afraid of being touched. They were a Diana of Ephesus; that at his first conference with Sir W. Scott, Sir W. had said if something must be done, a short Bill might be brought in requiring all wills of personal estate to be signed by the testator." And so this part of the conversation ended.

30*th*. — In the Gazette of this day there appeared a Proclamation for the meeting of Parliament on the 15th of September next, "for the despatch of divers weighty and important affairs."

Upon an analysis of the new Parliament, the numbers of each component class seem to be nearly these:

Irish Peers			17
Eldest sons of British Peers			33
Other sons of Peers, English, Scotch, and Irish			83
			133
Knights and Baronets			89
Professions — Law	38		
" Merchants, &c.	55		151
" Military, &c.	58		
Dead			2
Double election			11
			558

Of whom 168 were new Members, never having served in any Parliament.

Harvest for wheat and oats began in the first week of August about Ramsgate, and in the course of the month no grain was left standing in the Isle of Thanet except a little barley. In the last week of August arrived the Leeward Islands and Mediterranean fleets: 300 sail. One of the West Indiamen was totally lost upon the Goodwins the night after its arrival in the Downs, and every person perished. The gale being too violent for relief to be given.

CHAP. IV.

1796.

OPENING OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT. — DEFEAT OF THE FRENCH ON THE MAINE. — MR. PITT'S WAR MEASURES. — MR. ABBOT MOVED FOR A COMMITTEE UPON THE PROMULGATION OF THE STATUTES. — LORD MALMESBURY'S NEGOTIATIONS IN PARIS. — THE BUDGET. — FOX OPPOSES THE RUSSIAN LOAN. — MOVES A VOTE OF CENSURE ON PITT.

September 27th, 1796. — The new Parliament was opened by Commission. At two o'clock such members as were sworn and present proceeded to elect a Speaker. Lord Frederic Campbell proposed, and Mr. Powys at considerable length seconded, the Right Honourable Henry Addington. General Tarleton added a few words of commendation, and Mr. Secretary Dundas also. The new Speaker returned his thanks: the House rose at three: he did not make the disqualifying excuses which were usually made in former times.

28th. — At twelve o'clock I took the oaths before the Lord Steward's Commissioners* in the office of the Clerks of the House of Commons: and received from them the form of a particular of my qualification, which I filled up and signed.

At one o'clock, there being about 200 members present, the Speaker, full dressed in black, but without his sword and his robe, took the Chair. Soon afterwards Black Rod knocked and acquainted the Speaker that the Lords Commissioners desired the attendance of the House of Commons at the bar of the House of Lords.

* By the 5th Elizabeth all Members before they come into the Parliament House were required to take the Oath of Supremacy before the Lord Steward for the time being, or his deputy or deputies for that time, to be appointed. This provision was repealed in 1829. — See *Hatsell's Precedents of Proceedings in the House of Commons*, vol. ii. p. 86.

The Speaker went up, supported on each side by Lord Frederic Campbell and Mr. Powys, and attended by all the members. The Speaker acquainted the Lords Commissioners that the choice had fallen upon him, &c.; the Lords Commissioners, by the voice of the Lord Chancellor (one of them), signified the King's approbation. The Speaker then prayed the antient privileges of the Commons, and particularly freedom from arrest for their persons, &c., servants, &c., freedom of speech, &c. &c. The Lords Commissioners signified in general terms the King's consent to their petition.

Upon the Speaker's return to the House, he acquainted the House with the King's approbation of their choice, and repeated his own thanks, and entreated their indulgence and support. He next proceeded to state that the first business was, for all the Members who had been sworn before the Lord Steward, &c., to take the oaths at that table. He himself alone first took them, and then the Clerk called over the Members by the entry in the books of the Clerk of the Crown; as soon as twenty appeared to their names they were sworn together, and afterwards, retiring to their seats, they were called up singly to sign the Roll of Oaths, paying the fee of two shillings to the Clerk at the table.

N.B. I asked Hatsell and Ley (the Clerks) upon the following day, why privilege for *servants* was prayed for since the Act for taking it away. They agreed it to be absurd, but that it had been persisted in immediately after passing the Act, and upon full consideration at that time, and with the concurrent approbation of Lord Bathurst, Sir Fletcher Norton, and the best informed members of both Houses.—*See* Hatsell, vol. ii. p. 164.

29*th*.—At two o'clock the Speaker took the Chair; and prayers were read for the first time by Mr. Burly, a new Chaplain; whose appointment was not noticed otherwise than by his entering the House after the Speaker, and making three bows as usual, to the Chair,

on his way to the table. The list of defaulters on the Roll was then called over again; and many who had not answered on the preceding day were sworn at the table.

30th.—The House of Commons met again to swear Members, and adjourned at two o'clock, to the Wednesday following. This proceeding seemed extraordinary as compared with the King's declaration, that as soon as they were sworn he would acquaint them with the causes of calling the Parliament; a reason which would require their continuing assembled. But a precedent of the same sort was found in the reign of Queen Anne, as Mr. Ley, the Clerk-Assistant, informed me.

Sunday, Oct. 2nd.—The Lieutenants of the Navy have just had their pay raised to 5*s.* 6*d.* per diem. The total increase of cost to the public is 25,000*l.* per annum.

4th.—Dined at Wilberforce's with Lord St. Helens, &c. At a play written by the Empress of Russia, in the Russian language, ridiculing *Martinism*, as it is called in Germany, viz. ghost-seeing and visions, Prince Potemkin told Lord St. Helens, in answer to his question what sort of stuff it was, that it was very sad stuff, and not a soul would be in the theatre to see it if the piece had been written by an ordinary author. The Empress overheard part of the conversation, and desired to hear the rest; and, on being told it, joined in the laugh with the most perfect good humour. During her journey to the Crimea, her coach had six persons in it, and every one of her company had leave to sleep, of course, whenever they chose it. She travelled every morning from nine, till six in the evening. She stopped two months at Kiow, while the snows were melting, and spent six months in the journey. She took an English Opposition newspaper the whole time; and when her physician, an Englishman, had changed it for a Government paper, thinking she never read it, she noticed it, and said she would settle the matter between them, and ordered one of each sort.

5th.—News arrived of the defeat of Jourdain and

Marceau*, and of the arrival of the passport from the Directory.

6*th.*—At two the Speaker took the Chair in the House of Commons. At half-past two the King came, and went at three. Several Members were sworn, and the Grand Committees were appointed, and the standing orders made.

At four o'clock the Speaker acquainted the House that he had been to the House of Lords, where the King had made a speech, &c., of which he now read the copy. Lord Morpeth moved, and Sir W. Lowther seconded the Address. Mr. Fox rose next, and declared that he did not mean to move any amendment, but thought it necessary to explain his opinions upon some of the topics in the Address, in order to guard against misconstructions from his present acquiescence. He spoke about three quarters of an hour. Mr. Pitt replied for about an hour. Mr. Fox's speech was a poor performance in matter and manner. Mr. Pitt's, one of his very best and most splendid performances. The House was supposed to contain 400 Members. Mr. Sheridan, though in town for several days preceding, did not take the oaths, or attend. Mr. Grey remained in Northumberland. The Address was voted *nem. con.* The House rose soon after six.

There was no division in the Lords. They rose before seven.

7*th.*—The House of Commons met at three. The usual orders were made upon the reception of Petitions for Contested Elections, of which four were presented at the table. The Report of the Address was read twice and agreed to. I acquainted the Speaker that I should soon trouble him with papers.

8*th.*—At two o'clock went up with the Address of

* The Archduke Charles defeated Jourdain at Amberg, August 24th; at Wurtzburg, September 2nd; and finally, with Marceau, at Aschaffenburg, September 16th. The passport sent from the Directory was for a British envoy to proceed to Paris to open negotiations with a view to a general peace. Lord Malmesbury was sent; but the negotiation was eventually broken off before the end of the year.

the House of Commons. The Speaker was attended by about twenty Members and the Ministers. The King's answer was emphatically delivered as to his negotiations being for terms *adequate*, and his reliance on his people for prosecuting the war with *redoubled energy and vigour* if such terms should be refused.

From Burton I learnt that the Rev. Mr. Burt, of Twickenham, actually married the Prince of Wales to Mrs. Fitzherbert, and received 500*l.* for doing it, as he himself declared to his family on his deathbed.

10*th.*—No business was done in the House of Commons, except opening the Committee of Supply, and voting a supply in general terms.

13*th.*—Nothing material was done in the House of Commons. Serjeant Adair gave notice of renewing his Quakers' Bill, and Rose gave notice of moving for the supply of seamen for 1797.

14*th.*—The same number of seamen was voted as for the preceding year without opposition.

17*th.*—At the House of Commons I had some conversation with the Speaker. He said that in his time no public measure, except political measures of the day, had ever been brought forward of equal importance with that which I had engaged in; that Mr. Pitt had it very much at heart to enter seriously into the business; that the statute-book was a matter to be dealt with only by the two Houses of Parliament; and that Ministers in their separate departments neither could be warranted to authorise any undertaking upon the subject, nor would any private authority carry with it a sufficient sanction. That I might have heard of Mr. Plowden, a Roman Catholic, who had some time ago applied to Ministers, and offered to undertake that gigantic and stupendous task, which was too much for any man. And that he had required a sum not less than 6000*l.* for the business, which, for all these reasons, had been laid aside. He thought that a Committee of the House of Commons, somewhat in the way in which I had suggested, would be the most proper course,

and as I had begun with it I must go through with it. He promised to read my papers in the course of the week, and said he should wish to engage Mr. Pitt's attention thoroughly on the subject, as such measures never could be carried through with proper effect and respect without the countenance of the leading persons. He promised me his free and unreserved opinion upon my proposed report.

I told him that I wished him to look at it with a jealous eye; that I talked over the details with Strahan, who, he agreed with me, was a very liberal man; I told him also that I had read over my papers to Burton, before I had ventured to send them; and that, since I had sent him the fair copy, I had also sent the rough copy to Sergeant Adair, and these were the only steps I had taken. Unless I had the entire approbation of the Speaker, &c., I did not wish to have it brought forward at all.

Adair moved for leave to bring in his Bill for the Relief of Quakers, and stated the grounds of it. I seconded the motion, and was named with him to bring it in.

18*th*.—In the House of Commons, Mr Pitt, in a Committee, to which part of the King's speech was referred, moved for leave to bring in three Bills: 1. For raising 15,000 men for land and sea. 2. For 6000 supplemental militia, to be raised in proportion to the returns of fit men from each county (in which respect the present militia is disproportionately raised), and to be trained for 20 days together, one sixth at a time. 3. 20,000 cavalry, and 7000 gamekeepers to be made serviceable in arms, if called out.

Mr. Fox denied that the particular exigency required the particular measure; spoke upon various extraneous topics; the general question of the war; the demerits of the last Parliament; the bills against treason and sedition, &c.; but said he should vote for the present resolutions, reserving to himself the liberty of opposing the Bills when brought in. Mr. Dundas, Mr. Sheridan,

and Mr. Pitt again spoke in the debate. There was no division. The House rose at half-past eight.

20th.—In the House of Commons the Quakers' Bill was brought in and read a first time.

21st.—In the House of Commons upon the subject of the army estimates, a question being started by Mr. Fox upon the subject of the Maroon War, Bryan Edwards (the historian) got up to give a history of the Maroons from the first settlement of Jamaica, and to vindicate the Assembly upon their final measures of transporting them to Halifax. His coarse elocution and language, his boldness of manner and pertinacity of debate upon a point in itself foreign to the question of the day, seemed to prepossess the House very much against him.

22nd.—Called at the Crown Office to search for precedents of commissions of the peace formerly granted to districts for which they are not now granted. Found many discontinued since the reign of Elizabeth.

23rd.—Adair came to me by appointment to give me his opinion upon promulgation, &c. He entirely and warmly approved of the proposed report, as well for itself as for the further step which it took towards the great and ultimate work of a reform in the body of the statute laws, by commissions, sub-commissions, &c. With respect to the report itself, the only point on which he doubted was one of the alterations which I had suggested for supplying the want of local magistrates, viz., that of charters of justice, which, although he personally approved very much, yet, he thought, it might not be generally liked, and that the other proposition of local commissioners was equally good and less objectionable, as I myself seemed to have stated. He also talked over the Quakers' Bill, and the chancellor's concurrence, which he had received in a long conversation yesterday, after a discussion of various doubts which had been suggested.

26th.—In the House of Commons the Speaker told me he had sent for five or six successive nights to see

Mr. Pitt, but the constant answer was, that he was gone to Wimbledon, to return the next day at twelve o'clock. The Speaker thought my report of so much public importance that he wished it to have the direct countenance of Ministers; and he would mention the matter also to Mr. Fox, that it might have the concurrence of both sides of the House. He wished the motion, &c., for promulgation not to be expressly circumscribed by limits of expense, conceiving it tended to degrade the measure, although there might be no impropriety in mentioning it incidentally, as well upon opening the motion to the House as upon the conclusion of the report. He wished the whole matter of the statutes to be carried through with dignity and effect, and thought much might be done, even in the course of the present session.

27*th.*—Dined with Bankes. He told me the Speaker was most earnestly disposed on every ground, public as well as personal to me, to adopt and support whatever I might have to propose for the improvement of parliamentary forms; that talents, knowledge, leisure, &c., &c., singularly coincided to render me a most valuable member, and that no man felt more strongly than the Speaker the necessity of accommodating parliamentary forms to the variation of times, in order to preserve its respect and utility in the opinion of the nation. He instanced the idle and inconvenient rules about printing Bills in blanks, and wasting time in going through the forms of committees to render Bills intelligible before they could become the subjects of oral discussion.

28*th.*—Transcribed into my collection of original MSS. a minute of two conversations between Dr. Franklin and Sir Philip Gibbes, in 1777 and 1778, at Paris, upon the subject of American independence, with, or without, a federal union with Great Britain.

In the House of Commons, as soon as prayers were over, the Speaker desired to speak with me in his room. He said he was now at liberty to talk with me about my proposed report on promulgation, &c.; that he had

talked it over with Mr. Pitt, who gave his full sanction, approbation, and concurrence, and was eager for proceeding upon the rest of the design for digesting the statutes. The Speaker himself added, that it certainly was a gigantic and stupendous work, and would require a great deal of co-operation. I replied, "And also a previous committee, to prepare the preliminary matters necessary to such an undertaking." "That," said the Speaker, "you know very well that you must do yourself; you must do the previous business of the previous committee." He then reverted to the report, on which he said that Mr. Pitt and he both agreed in excluding the idea of limiting the measure by any consideration of expense; at least, that it should be only an incidental remark upon the advantage of any specific plan, but not stated as an essential ingredient in the motion—that it degraded the proposition below its true dignity; although I had confined my views within the bounds of economy, as a recommendation of it to Ministers. We agreed that the less was said to expose the deformed and shapeless condition of the present mode of giving publicity to our laws, the more discreet it would be. It was settled that I should give notice to-day of my intended motion for the following Monday, but that in the interim I should see him upon the further arrangement of the terms of the motion and formation of the committee, so that they might draw with me, and not impede the project.

Accordingly, I gave notice in the House of my intended motion. Mr. Pitt brought forward his proposition for funding 12,000,000*l.* of Navy and Exchequer Bills, which was strongly controverted by Mr. Fox, Hussey, and Sir W. Pulteney; but no division. The Quaker's Bill was read a second time without opposition.

30*th.*—At a quarter-past ten this morning, I went to the Speaker by appointment. We read through the whole of my proposed draught of Report upon the Promulgation of the Statutes, word by word; and, with

some few slight verbal alterations, he gave it his fullest approbation. He discussed incidentally several topics arising out of the report, and settled the form of the motion, and choice of the committee. He undertook to speak to the Lord Advocate of Scotland *, to be an additional member of the Committee, instead of Sir Adam Ferguson (not now in Parliament), and to Wilberforce, instead of Charles Townsend (also not in this Parliament); and he promised to desire Wilberforce would second the motion, in case of Adair's absence. The Speaker also undertook to have the Annual Committee on Expired and Expiring Laws opened immediately, and to look into my proposed form of the report which such committee should make in future. Accordingly, I sent it to him in the course of the day. He also agreed in the propriety of delivering the reserved number of Reports on Temporary Laws to the Members of the present Parliament.

In talking over the propriety of an Act to declare which was the legal Parliament upon a demise of the Crown, he mentioned that Mr. Ley was at this moment desired to prepare such a Bill; and the Speaker suggested that, if I had no objection, I might be the proper person to bring it in.

We had a full discussion upon the importance and difficulty of a general revision of the statutes. He urged me to prosecute it strenuously, and agreed that such an undertaking must have the highest sanction and the ablest co-operation that the House of Commons could give it; but insisted that the whole must depend upon me, and that if it was not now done it could never be looked for.

With great professions of readiness to assist me upon all occasions, and to receive me whenever I wished to see him, we parted, at the end of two hours.

I should add that his original objections to any limitation of economy in the promulgation, &c., seemed to be nearly abated, when we came to strike it out of

* Mr. R. Dundas.

the motion, and only suffered it to remain in as the statement of the committee.

31*st.* — In the House of Commons my motion for a Committee, &c., did not come on; the evening was filled with the Report upon the Funding of the Navy Bills, &c., and the Committee on the Supplemental Militia Bill. Upon the resolutions in the Committee of Ways and Means for setting the terms of funding the Navy Bills, there took place the first division in the new Parliament; 208 to 48.

Tuesday, November 1*st.* — In the House of Commons the business was upon the Militia and Cavalry Bills. Debates (but no division) till twelve.

2*nd.* — In the House of Commons I moved the Committee upon the Promulgation of the Statutes, Wilberforce seconded. A great many Members before and afterwards expressed their great satisfaction that it was taken up. I had a long conversation with the Lord Advocate, to whom I communicated the outline, of which he much approved.

A division took place on the Cavalry Bill; for it, 140; against it, 30.

5*th.* — At one o'clock the Committee on the Promulgation, &c., met. — I was in the Chair. There were present the Master of the Rolls, the Solicitor-General, Mr. Wilberforce, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, Mr. Serjeant Adair, Mr. Hawkins Browne, and Mr. Hobart. We examined Mr. Strahan, and also the first Clerk of the Crown Office in Chancery, and a clerk from the Parliament Office; and inspected various books, papers, and original records. I produced also all the returns of towns and justices which I had received throughout Great Britain. The Committee came to several fundamental resolutions, by which the basis of my proposed report was established.

7*th.* — In the House of Commons no material business was done. As an instance of the little attention to appearances of obsequiousness or servility which a minister personally experiences, when Mr. Pitt came into the House to take the Cavalry Bill off the table

and carry it to the Lords, although there were sixty or seventy Members in the House, nobody followed him; and when he turned about at the door to see whether he had the necessary number of eight to go to the Bar of the Lords, he did not find a single person rise to follow him, and had to wait several minutes in the doorway till some people in office got up to make the number.

9*th*. — The Promulgation Committee met at twelve and sat till three. Went through Mr. Cowper's examination, and the inspection of various books and papers. At the end of the day I was desired to prepare a report to be circulated afterwards among the members of the Committee; and the Committee adjourned to Thursday, the 24th.

11*th*. — Douglas suggested the idea of a standing committee for revisal and redaction of every Bill as to its style and arrangement in the course of its progress through Parliament; and that I should be perpetual chairman of such a committee at a large salary. The latter circumstance I put aside, but agreed in the utility of providing some such operation. The Speaker when I saw him, talked of the propriety of printing not only the report, but also such resolutions as might be framed upon that basis by way of superstructure.

19*th*. — Dined at Hawkins Browne's, with Montague and others. Montague told me that Pitt's celebrated speech upon the Budget of 1792, was taken down in short hand by Montague himself, at the desire of Lord Grenville and Lord Mornington, and corrected afterwards by Mr. Pitt himself for the press.

28*th*. — The House of Commons met. Lord Malden applied to me to be nominee for his friend Mr. Pullen, upon the Leominster Petition, which I declined.

Mr. Pitt being asked the other day how Charles G———, Lord W———'s brother (a great bore) came to be a Privy Councillor, said, "he really did not know; he supposed by dint of solicitation;" and added, "For my own part, I would rather at any time have made him a Privy Councillor than have talked to him."

Lord Malmesbury, after La Croix's note, asking how

often Lord M. meant to send couriers to London, and Lord M's. answer, "As often as there should be occasion," at the end of the following interview, mentioned to La Croix, that the Directory had not published his answer.

La Croix. — "Do you particularly wish it?"

Lord M. — "Mais, oui, c'est que j'ai la petite vanité d'un auteur; et surtout puisque vous faites les frais de l'imprimerie."

La Croix. — "Monsieur, il me semble que vous traitez les choses sérieuses bien légèrement."*

Lord M. — "Non, Monsieur, ce n'est que les choses ridicules."

29*th* — Frost set in and lasted twelve days.

Thursday, December 1*st.* — The loan for 18,000,000*l.*, was this day settled; after all the apprehensions of a voluntary subscription with compulsive clauses, 8,000,000*l.* were subscribed the same day.

2*nd.* — The loan was filled this day up to 13,000,000*l.*

5*th.* — The Committee for Promulgation, &c., met and agreed to the Report which I afterwards presented to the House.

The Civil List is now in debt 350,000*l.*, accumulated in thirteen years according to Rose.† The current expense of the Navy is 12,500,000*l.*, although the expense of it for last year was 10,000,000*l.*, owing to transport service, &c. The expense of the ensuing year is taken at 27,000,000*l.*, although only eighteen are raised by loan.

Hatsell agreed to the reason of bringing in all Bills with the blanks filled up; but objected to it as an innovation merely, and upon the general principle that he would resist all changes, great or small, upon the single reason of their being changes.

7*th.*—In the House at a quarter past five. Mr. Pitt opened the Budget. His speech took two hours and a half. Mr. Grey took half an hour, Mr. Pitt half an

* La Croix was the French Minister for Foreign Affairs at this time.

† Mr. Rose was Secretary to the Treasury.

hour, and Mr. Fox half an hour. The taxes for the interest of 18,000,000*l.*, &c., are 2,110,000*l.*, divided among seventeen different heads of taxation. The articles of taxation entirely new were a duty upon carriage by inland navigation, and a duty upon carriage of parcels by land carriage. Total supply, 27,640,000*l.*

The taxes were not objected to except that upon inland navigation, to which Mr. Fox objected on principle; to the rest he only objected that some were taken too high, viz., the Post Office.

8*th.*—Upon the report of the Committee of Ways and Means, Mr. Fox insisted that the loan to the Emperor of 1,200,000*l.* during the current year had been illegal, and a grievance great enough to precede the consideration of supply. He relied on principle and authority, that expenses were not to be incurred without the consent of Parliament, and much less without its knowledge whilst it was sitting, and for purposes of foreign subsidy. Mr. Pitt answered. First, that inasmuch as the 1,200,000*l.* was no part of the present sums in the report, the objection was irrelevant to the question of agreeing to the report. Secondly, that the loan itself was a legal application of public money under the Act for a vote of credit "to enable His Majesty to take such measures as the urgency of affairs might require." Thirdly, that the King's Ministers were justified in point of discretion for so applying such a sum to such a measure as being of sufficient urgency. For postponing the consideration of the Report till to-morrow, 58; against it, 264. The House rose at nine.

Alexander Morris, in the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms, was ordered to be committed to His Majesty's gaol of Newgate, for a breach of privilege in not attending as a witness upon an Election Committee after being summoned. An inquiry as to his having been tampered with to stay away was postponed generally, by withdrawing the motion in order that the approaching trial of the second election petition might not be affected by it.

14*th.*—House of Commons. Mr. Fox moved a vote

of censure upon His Majesty's Ministers, who had, without the consent of Parliament, and during the sitting of Parliament, remitted money (viz., the 1,200,000*l.*) to the Emperor.

The argument for the motion insisted upon the *general principle* of the Constitution, that no public money should be applied without the previous consent of Parliament; it insisted that the *excepted cases* of Army and Ordnance Extraordinaries, Navy Debt, and Vote of Credit were modern and mischievous exceptions. It relied upon the doctrine in Hatsell's "Precedents of Parliament," title, "Supply;" and concluded that *no vote of credit*, &c. could be applied to justify any application of money to a purpose like the present, viz., a purpose *foreseen*, and *not communicated to Parliament though sitting at the time;* as happened actually in this case during the time when most of the remittances were made, they being principally in Oct., Nov., and Dec. 1796.

On the other hand, the *general principle* was admitted; the *excepted cases* were contended to be essentially necessary to provide for the public service in time of war. And the *practice* of the present century was relied upon to justify applications of money for foreign subsidies *during the sitting of Parliament, without communicating* them at the time. It was contended that in fact also these issues (though made during the session) were the performance of agreements made with the Emperor during the recess in the summer; and it was finally argued that sufficient security was given to the Constitution for the proper application of such monies by subjecting Ministers to the judgment of Parliament when the supplies for these purposes were to be voted; and that the Vote of Credit Act warranted the strict legality of the payment, by granting the money "for the purpose of enabling His Majesty to take such measures as the exigency of affairs might require." The proper application of the money to the use of the Emperor in the particular case was admitted on all sides.

The precedents cited were several, viz., 1701, 1704, 1705, 1706, 1707, 1712, 1718, 1734, 1742, 1758, 1787, and 1794. But those most relied upon and discussed were those of 1706, respecting the subsidy to the Duke of Savoy; 1742, respecting the money to the Duke D'Aremberg, viz., 40,000*l.* sent by Lord Carteret during the sitting of Parliament; 1787, the money paid for secret service during the Revolution in Holland; and 1795, the money paid to the Emperor, advanced in the autumn of 1794, and paid out of the money of 1795 after discussion, but without opposition on this point. For the vote, 81; against it, 285.

An amendment was afterwards voted without a division, declaring that this measure was justified by the Vote of Credit (though not to be drawn into a precedent without special necessity), and that it was calculated to produce events highly useful to the common cause. Other amendments were afterwards proposed by Mr. Fox to defeat the object of the amended motion, but these were negatived without a division. Mr. Fox declared he would not let the question rest here, but annually move to rescind or expunge these votes till he should succeed. The House rose at three.

10*th.*—In the House General Fitzpatrick moved to address the King to intercede with the Emperor for the liberation of La Fayette*, &c., their detention being injurious to the common cause of His Majesty and his Allies. This was opposed; Mr. Pitt agreeing in the commiseration of the distress stated, if true; promising to let it be distinctly understood at Vienna that His Britannic Majesty did not consider himself as having any claim of interference for the detention; but objected

* In 1792, La Fayette, being then in command of the army stationed at Sedan, endeavoured to prevail upon the soldiers to march upon Paris and put down the Jacobins. Failing in this attempt, he was denounced by Robespierre and Danton, and fled across the frontier, intending to escape to the United States; but he was seized by the Austrians and confined at Olmutz, where he remained till the close of this year, when Buonaparte, after his victories in the north of Italy, compelled the Emperor to agree to his release.

to an address for interceding, as contrary to general policy between independent powers in matters respecting their separate administration of government. For the motion, amended by Mr. Wilberforce, omitting "injurious, &c.," 51; against it, 134. The original motion was negatived without a division.

19*th*.—The printed Report on Promulgation, etc., was delivered at the House. Hatsell told me he approved of it all very much, except that he had some doubts about the practicability of punctuation upon the engrossment; he conceiving (what I do not) that it can only be done in the Lords, which would in many cases be giving them the power to make sense or nonsense of Money Bills. The Speaker desired me to give notice that I would, after the recess, bring forward some propositions for carrying into effect the measures proposed by the Report.

The news came of the Empress of Russia's death.

20*th*.—Dined at Mr. Hope's with two French emigrants: 1. M. De Launay, formerly Colonel in the Gardes du Corps to Louis XVI., and brother to the Governor of the Bastile who was executed by the mob of Paris. This gentleman now keeps a perfumer's shop in Tottenham Terrace. 2. M. Fouacke, arrived five weeks ago from Havre, a merchant of that place, once worth 300,000*l*., now worth nothing but the remainder of some plantations in St. Domingo, under the English Government. M. De Launay was going to the Opera.

21*st*.—In the House of Commons, gave notice that I should after the recess submit to the House some measures founded upon the statements contained in the Report of the Committee on Promulgation, &c.

The Southwark Election Committee came this day to a most absurd determination. They first resolved that Mr. Thellusson, having treated within Stat. 7 W. & M. at his preceding election for this Parliament, was ineligible upon this second return. And secondly, that Mr. Tierney, his opponent, was duly elected. And thirdly, that Mr. Thellusson's defence was not frivolous

and vexatious. *Id est*, that the statute which only vacates the very return upon which the treating took place, extends also to all subsequent elections. 2nd. That this ineligibility was *so notorious* to the electors as to make all their votes thrown away which were given to him. And thirdly, that Mr. Thellusson, being *notoriously ineligible*, nevertheless *did not know of his own ineligibility occasioned by his own treating*, for else his defence to the petition must have been *frivolous and vexatious*.

26*th*.—The King's message was delivered in each House of Parliament respecting the termination of the negotiations with France.

CHAP. V.

1797.

PITT REQUESTS MR. ABBOT'S AID ON THE POOR BILL.—QUAKERS' BILL.—LANDING OF THE FRENCH AT FISHGUARD.—SUSPENSION OF CASH PAYMENTS.—COMMITTEE ON THE STATE OF THE BANK.—BATTLE OF ST. VINCENT'S.—MILITARY AND NAVAL STRENGTH OF THE KINGDOM.—PRINCE OF WALES WISHES TO VISIT IRELAND.—REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE.—MUTINY AT SPITHEAD.

TUESDAY, January 24th.—The Attorney-General applied to me to become nominee * for his brother, Sir Wm. Scott, upon the Downton Committee. I told him my objections, and that I wished him not to ask me; but that if he did I should certainly accept it at his personal request, and so we parted; he saying that I distressed him beyond measure.

In the course of the morning I met Sylvester Douglas †, who said he was authorised, and indeed desired, by Mr. Pitt to obtain my assistance in improving the forms and style of the Poor Bill; that he, Sylvester Douglas, conceived it would be a desirable opportunity for me to make an experiment of my ideas of more concise forms of diction upon so important a Bill as this, &c. &c. I told him that I approved of the principles stated in the original opening of the subject by Mr. Pitt in the preceding year, and proposed in the present Bill; and that they concurred with all the best opinions that I had found in the writers on the subject; but that the Bill itself seemed to me as bad in the mode

* By the Act for deciding election petitions, carried by Mr. G. Grenville in 770, besides the thirteen Members of the Committee who were selected by ballot, the petitioners and the sitting Member each nominated one Member, who was no doubt expected to vote for his own friend, whatever might be the evidence.

† Afterwards Lord Glenbervie.

as the principles were good in substance. And that I should be perfectly ready to lend any assistance in my power, &c. &c.

Saturday, Feb. 11*th.*—This day I desired Perceval to propose me for the Volunteer Light Horse.

15*th.*—At ten went to Lambeth, when the Archbishop of Canterbury stated to me his grounds for objecting to the Quakers' Bill, and showed me a statement of the returns from all the bishoprics, except Norwich, Exeter, and Durham, not yet received; whereby it appeared that in twenty years, only six suits for tithes had been instituted in the Ecclesiastical Court against Quakers, whereof two were by laymen and five had been settled, and one only had gone the length of imprisonment, viz., from March to July, 1789.

At one went to the levee, and was presented, upon my marriage, by the Duke of Leeds.

In the House of Commons I presented a petition from the ship-owners belonging to and frequenting the Port of London, in favour of wet docks.

16*th.*—Went to the Drawing Room, and was presented, upon my marriage, to the Queen, by the Duke of Leeds. The King talked to me about my attendance in Term time at Westminster Hall, my office, &c.

18*th.*—The Downton Committee met; when the petitioners desired to waive being heard, on account of the great probable length and expense, and that the party chiefly interested was a minor. Hoping that, as the question had already been disputed seven times, and was extremely complicated, it might not be reported that the petition was frivolous and vexatious. This was agreed to on the other side, and by the Committee, which accordingly ended in ten minutes.

I went to the Speaker's. We read over my draught of the resolutions to be moved upon Promulgation, &c. He conceived that the whole ought to be done rather by Bill than Resolutions, as more imperative and permanent. Also that the particular regulations res-

pecting fees on Private Bills and their office copies, in the Parliament Office, would require a Bill which must originate with the Lords. He promised as soon as he should receive the Resolutions corrected according to this idea, he would also take the opinion of Mr. Hatsell upon them. He also wished that this part of the scheme, and also the standing orders, should be carried through during this session. Also that the Annual Report of expired and expiring laws should be made, in order to render the Committee and its Report of last year permanently useful.

19*th.*—I sent the corrected draft of the Resolutions, and also a copy of proposed standing orders to the Speaker. The Speaker, at his levee in the evening, told me that he thought, upon consideration, the promulgation must be by one Bill, and that originating in the Lords.

20*th.*—In the House of Commons, the Bill for regulating the trial of causes arising in counties of cities and towns corporate, was read a second time, and referred to a Committee upstairs, to be recommitted afterwards to a Committee of the whole House; *i. e.* in effect to be altered to a new Bill, chiefly drawn by Mr. Justice Lawrence.

21*st.* — The Speaker appointed Saturday to converse with me upon the proposed resolutions and standing orders. He objected to any punctuation of the statutes.

22*nd.* — Went to the levee, where the King talked to me a great deal about the business of the Court of King's Bench. No business in the House of Commons.

23*rd.* — Lord Mendip mentioned a Bill which passed the House of Commons in his time, about the year 1753, or 1754, called Potter's Bill, for the purpose of obtaining a complete enumeration of the people. It was thrown out in the Lords, and chiefly by the bishops.

He talked also at large upon the ancient historians, and the difficulty of modern historians, under monarchical governments, in knowing the real causes of events, a knowledge supplied but very imperfectly by private memoirs or occasional State Papers.

24*th*.—In the House of Commons, the order of the day was for going into a Committee upon the Quakers' Bill. The Speaker's leaving the chair was opposed, and a division took place; 33 for it, and 33 against it. The Speaker accordingly voted, and gave his vote for going into Committee; assigning as his reason that he had prescribed to himself an invariable rule of voting for the further discussion of any measure which the House had previously sanctioned, as in this instance it had by having voted for the second reading. But that upon any question which was to be governed by the merits, as for instance, "that this Bill do now pass," he should always give his vote according to his judgment, and state the grounds of it.

The arguments against the principle of the Bill were —first, that it was unnecessary, no grievance existing on the part of the Quakers, as it appeared, by the returns of the Ecclesiastical Courts, that not more than one imprisonment (viz. for four months) had occurred in twenty years; and by inquiry in the Court of Exchequer, that not more than seven suits had been instituted against Quakers, as such, since the reign of Queen Anne. Secondly, that the religious scruples of Quakers against the payment of tithes was a scruple hostile to the laws of property, and incompatible with the civil government, as well as the ecclesiastical establishments of the country; and that one half of the tithes in England were in lay hands. Contra: it was argued for the Bill, first, that the Quakers had been treated with indulgence ever since the reign of King William, when the jurisdiction for the recovery of tithes before Justices of the Peace was established; and that the present Bill, in extending the limits of that jurisdiction by allowing sums of more than 10*l*. to be recovered there, only followed up the principle of former laws. Secondly, that although the instances of positive imprisonment endured in resistance to payment of tithes were few; yet that it was a great evil to cause the violations of conscience in Quakers by the terrors of

imprisonment, if other process could be introduced which should secure the tithe-owner without exposing the Quaker to this grievance; and that such process was proposed by this Bill, and might perhaps be still more aptly framed in the Committee.

It was urged against the Bill, and not denied by the friends of it, that the body of Quakers did not solicit this relief. It was stated also that in various instances the Quakers now acted as tithe-collectors, and were tithe-owners.

Mr. Pitt was absent: the Master of the Rolls, Attorney and Solicitor-General, and King's Advocate, Perceval, Sutton, Campbell, Richards; most of the lawyers voted against the Bill.

Mr. Fox, Wilberforce, the Thorntons, Bankes, and myself were amongst those who voted for going into the Committee.

The admission of affirmation in criminal cases was very slightly touched upon by any of those who spoke on either side. It was objected only that it ought to be the subject of a distinct Bill. The House rose at half-past nine.

25*th.* — At twelve I went to the Speaker by appointment. After discoursing over the points of the debate of overnight, we read through my draft of the resolutions and standing orders. With some alterations it was agreed that I should move them all as resolutions, and afterwards communicate them at a conference to the Lords, leaving them to bring in a Bill upon all that regarded statutes, and intending (when their Bill came down) to enforce by standing orders such regulations respecting Bills as the Lords did not comprise in their Bill. We discussed the mischiefs of a lax and redundant and ambiguous style in Acts of Parliament, and the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of rectifying that by any standing order: conceiving that it must be rather accomplished by example and precedent in a better mode of framing the Government Bills.

26*th.* — The news came yesterday of 1200 French

having landed in Fishguard Bay; and to-day of their having all laid down their arms to Lord Cawdor.

27*th*. — This morning an Order in Council appeared requiring the Bank to suspend the issuing of cash until the sense of Parliament could be taken.

N.B. The King was present at the council held to-day upon this business, and was to have signed the order or proclamation, but was prevented by Lord Liverpool as being too much for His Majesty to appear in personally at such a time.

The subject matter of the order, and the proceedings at the council, were known within half an hour afterwards.

In the House of Commons Mr. Pitt delivered a message from the King, with the Order in Council annexed, and moved to take it into consideration to-morrow; giving notice that he should then move an address in answer to the message, and a committee of inquiry into the debts and means of the Bank, and propose a law for pledging the faith of the nation in support of the Bank paper to a certain limit; and another law authorising the receipt of bank paper by Government from the public debtors of Government. Upon being pressed repeatedly to say whether he meant to propose that bank notes should be a legal tender, he declined to give any intimation of any opinion whatever upon that subject.

Sheridan moved a resolution against issuing more specie to the Emperor until the sense of Parliament could be taken upon any such advance. Mr. Pitt moved the order of the day. For it, 247; against it, 70.

The House rose at half-past seven.

At this time Bolton of Birmingham is coining rupees by contract with the E. I. Company, by an engine which coins 30,000 in an hour. It is by the same mechanism that he proposed to have coined copper for Government a few years ago, when Lord Liverpool broke off the treaty upon a difference of terms.

28*th*. — Sent the Speaker my corrected draft of the proposed resolutions upon Promulgation, &c.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt moved for a secret committee of fifteen to inquire into the demands upon the Bank of England and its funds to answer the same; and also into the necessity of confirming and continuing the present measure. Mr. Sheridan moved an amendment, that the same committee should also inquire into the causes of the present necessity, and of the Order in Council. It was replied that whether the present embargo upon the Bank should or should not be continued, was to be governed by whether it was necessary or not; and that the inquiry into causes was at least extraneous and distinct, though important. For the amendment, 86; against it, 244.

Mr. Pitt then moved for leave to bring in a Bill for enabling the Bank to issue small notes: which was agreed to.

The House rose at twelve. The Prince of Wales sat under the gallery during the whole debate, and his friends voted in the Opposition.

Wednesday, March 1st. — In the House of Commons, Mr. Fox moved for a committee upon the causes of the necessity of the Order in Council. Mr. Pitt objected to having a distinct committee, upon the ground of its being more expedient to refer this inquiry to the same committee as already appointed, although it should not be instructed so to inquire, until after it had reported upon the points already referred to it. The chief topic in debate was the propriety of balloting lists being circulated for previous instruction of members. It was admitted by Ministers that lists were so circulated; and retorted on Opposition, and vindicated on its convenience, as amounting in substance to a nomination on either side, without the indecorum of personal remarks upon individual names as they were proposed; and leaving it open to everybody to supersede or vary as they pleased the proposed list. Against Mr. Fox's motion, 161; for it, 67.

Afterwards, upon Mr. Sheridan's motion to add Mr. Fox's name to the secret committee when its names were read: against it, 146; for it, 53.

The House rose at half-past twelve.

At the beginning of the day leave was given to bring in a Bill for suspending the Acts prohibiting the issue of small notes by bankers; and the Bank of England Bill for authorising the issue of small notes was read a second time, and at the close of the sitting the Bill was read a third time and passed.

2nd. — In the House of Commons the Bill for suspending the prohibition of small notes by country bankers, &c. was committed.

3rd. — The emigrants in London, according to their declarations filed in the Secretary of State's office last autumn, were about 6000, but according to the Bishop of St. Pol de Leon, about 8000. Total in England computed to be about 14,000, besides prisoners.

News of Sir John Jervis's victory over the Spanish fleet, off Cape Lagos*, with capture of two ships of 112 guns, and one of eighty, and one of seventy-four guns, besides six transports. Sir John Jervis's strength was fifteen sail of the line, and four frigates. The Spanish fleet, twenty-seven sail of the line and eight frigates.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Whitshed Keene and Sir Charles Bunbury moved an address to the King to confer some mark of Royal favour on Sir John Jervis. But this was withdrawn upon the ground of its being too quick an interference and distrust of the Crown. The Thanks of the House were voted afterwards on the motion of Mr. Secretary Dundas, to the admirals, officers, and ships' crews, &c.

The Bill for suspending the prohibition against the issuing of small notes by bankers and manufacturers was read a third time and passed, but with much reluctance and apprehension.

Mr. Whitbread's motion for an inquiry into the con-

* Better known as off Cape St. Vincent. It was fought Feb. 14th.

duct of Administration whilst the French fleet was off Ireland, was answered by a speech from Mr. Secretary Dundas, relating all the transactions, and producing letters and minutes in proof of his assertions. After which he moved the previous question, for the purpose of having these papers printed, and leaving the inquiry open if it should afterwards be thought necessary.

Division for the previous question, 209; against it, 62.

During the debate Mr. Secretary Dundas stated the British fleet for defence of the British seas *only* to be 50 sail of the line; and that there were now 100,000 men in arms in Great Britain who would become 200,000 when the late augmentations and levies were completed.

Upon the Secret Committee the Bank valued their buildings and an estate of 2000*l.* per annum, at 60,000*l.* only.

4*th.*—Mr. Pitt was this day examined by the Secret Committee for three hours and a half, for the purpose of confirming and continuing the effect of the Order in Council. All the questions and answers were written down. The Attorney-General and Mr. Grey conducted the examination upon the two opposite sides.

6*th.*—In the House of Commons the Quakers' Bill was thrown out upon a division against the Speaker's leaving the chair. Ayes, 12; Noes, 28.

7*th.*—In the House of Commons the Committee of Secrecy made its second report, viz., that it was necessary to provide for the confirmation and continuance of the measures required by the Order in Council. Mr. Pitt gave notice that he should move to take both reports into consideration on Thursday next; and also for a Committee to inquire into the causes of the necessity. And at an early day for a Committee upon the state of our finances, the debt incurred by the war, the provision made for it, the further expenses requisite, and the ways and means for supplying them.

9*th.*—In the House Mr. Pitt waived bringing in any Bill to guarantee the Bank, as being altogether unneces-

sary. He moved for leave to bring in a Bill for confirming and continuing the measures taken in consequence of the Minute of Council, which was not opposed. He also moved to revive the Committee of Secrecy, and refer to them to inquire whether any necessity had existed for the Order in Council, and what were the causes of that necessity. For it, 174; against it, 65.

For adding Charles James Fox to the Committee, 60; against it, 157.

In the course of the debate Mr. Fox and Mr. Grey both stated distinctly and expressly, and without contradiction, that the nature of a Committee of Secrecy was only that it excluded from their proceedings all strangers; but that the Members of the Committee were no otherwise bound to individual secrecy out of the Committee, than as their own sense of duty or propriety might suggest, according to the nature and object of their inquiry.

Sir John Sinclair to-day assembled about thirty Members of Parliament as an armed neutrality. They resolved: 1. To vote for Economy. 2. For Peace. 3. Against Mr. Pitt's Bank measures. 4. Against Mr. Fox's motions for repeal of the Acts against Treason and Sedition.

10*th*.—In the House of Commons I moved that the House should resolve itself into a Committee of the whole House on Friday the 17th, to consider of the Report from the Committee on Promulgation of Laws.

Upon Mr. Pitt's motion to appoint a Select Committee by Ballot*, an amendment was moved that the Ballot should be *now*. For the amendment, 40; against it, 123. Upon Mr. Sheridan's motion for repaying immediately to the Bank such advances as they had made to the Government, Mr. Pitt moved the previous question, arguing that the original motion was premature pending the two Committees. For the previous question, 185; against it, 45.

* The Finance Committee, mentioned above on March 7th.

13*th.*—In the House of Commons, Mr. Harrison's motion for an inquiry into the relief to be procured for the public necessities by reduction of salaries of useless places and offices, &c., was disposed of by the previous question, and referred to the General Committee of Finance by a special instruction. For the previous question, 169; against it, 77.

On the motion of Mr. Sheridan for adding Mr. Fox to the Committee, Ayes, 75; Noes, 148.

Upon the report of the scrutineers upon the Ballot, the list circulated by the Minister was appointed.*

14*th.*—At 12 o'clock the Committee met, except Mr. Stanley. I was put into the chair; and the rest of the day was spent in moving for papers, according to the terms of reference made to the Committee, and I afterwards signed eleven orders for preparing and producing the answers required.

15*th.*—Met the Speaker and Hatsell in Hyde Park, and conversed upon the proposed resolution for Promulgation, &c. Hatsell objecting to the putting marginal notes, or printing the Private Acts. At the House I examined the Minutes of the Committee of Finance.

16*th.*—Went to the Speaker by appointment, and finally settled the resolutions to be moved in the Promulgation Committee, by omitting all those about numbering and margining the clauses and riders of Bills: and agreed further that the resolutions when adopted by the House should be sent by message to the Lords; who, if they agreed to them, should address the King and communicate to the Commons their address, with the King's answer. After which the Commons should address the King to direct the requisite measures, and assure him that the Commons would make good the compensation from time to time.

* The following Members formed the Committee:—Mr. Thomas Stanley, Mr. W. Baker, the Right Hon. T. Steele, the Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan, Mr. C. Yorke, Mr. C. Abbot, Hon. A. St. John, Right Hon. Dudley Ryder, Mr. R. Pole Carew, Mr. J. Carew, Mr. F. Gregor, Mr. J. Hiley Addington, Mr. R. Burdon, Mr. H. Thomson, Mr. J. Harrison.

17*th.*—The Select Committee on Finance met, but no papers being ready according to their former orders, they adjourned.

In the House on the Inverkeithing Ballot the name of the Right Hon. Dudley Ryder* being drawn, he stated his appointment and service upon the Select Committee as an excuse if the House thought fit to allow it. It was opposed by Mr. Fox, Sir W. Young, and Mr. Vansittart; but on the question being put, it was allowed without a division.

18*th.*—The Finance Committee went through the examination of, 1. an account of the public debt, and its increase since 5th January 1793, viz., 88,000,000*l.* 2. An account of the permanent taxes existing prior to 1793, and during the same period. And 3. An account of the produce of the new taxes during the same period.

23*rd.*—The Finance Committee went through all the papers before them, and directed me to move that the Committee should have authority to order the printing for their own use of a sufficient number of copies of all papers and accounts laid before them.

In the House passed eight resolutions through a Committee of the whole House upon the Report of the Committee upon Promulgation. Reported them to the House for printing; and adjourned the consideration of the report of the resolutions till this day se'nnight.

27*th.*—From the 20th to the 27th I was every morning in the Finance Committee, and was employed every evening in preparing papers for the next day. Pole Carew, Ryder, Hall, &c. conferred with me occasionally, and gave their observations upon the draft of the report as it advanced. Sheridan attended the Committee every day, and this day for the first time we divided against his motion, and carried it 7 to 5.

In the House upon the Bank Bill in the Committee there was a division; 88 to 218.

* Afterwards Lord Harrowby.

The capture of the island of Trinidad by Admiral Harvey was announced to-day.

30*th.*—The Finance Committee met at eleven and waited till two for Mr. Sheridan. Read through the first half of the Report, and ordered it to be printed with the Appendix so far.

31*st.*—I presented the first Report from the Committee of Finance.

Monday, April 3rd.—The Committee of Finance met again to proceed upon their second Report. I put off my Promulgation Report till after the recess.

The Prince of Wales having some time ago been persuaded by Lady Anne Conolly to wish for a mission to Ireland, received lately a request signed by Grattan and the leaders of the Irish Opposition desiring him to obtain from His Majesty an authority to visit Ireland and pacify the discontents of that country by concessions. The Prince of Wales sent this letter to Mr. Pitt, desiring him to lay it before the King. Of course, the proposal was negatived. The Prince then wrote to Lord Fitzwilliam, and also to Mr. Fox, &c., offering to put himself at the head of their party at home, and to oppose openly all measures of the present Administration. They all dissuaded him from that line of conduct; but on Saturday, the 25th of March, Mr. Fox, Erskine, the Duke of Norfolk, &c., dined at Carlton House.

4*th.*—Finance Committee. In the House Sheridan moved for a Committee to consider of the propriety of advances to the Emperor; alleging that any advances would at present do us more harm than they could do good to the Emperor. Mr. Pitt contended that the good to the Emperor was the actually enabling him to carry on offensive war instead of defensive war. And to us it was, in point of economy, our cheapest mode of calling off the enemy from our own country; that in increasing our safety it increased our credit, and that in preserving our communication open with Germany it continued our trade and the support of our manufactures. Added to which the Emperor had

recently rejected overtures from France, declaring that he would treat only in conjunction with us. Mr. Fox, Sir W. Pulteney, and Lord G. Cavendish were the only other speakers.

Sheridan in the course of his speech said that the Finance Report was very truly stated, and that he concurred in almost every figure of it; that it had been very fairly conducted; and that there was no concealment, or omission, except what the pressure for time had rendered necessary; that such objections to it as it appeared liable to he had stated in the Committee.

Division at nine o'clock. For the motion, 87; against it, 266.

It is remarkable that 90 members who attended the call on the preceding day were absent from this division. Mr. Pitt told me after the debate that our Report on Finance was one of the clearest papers he had seen.

5*th*.—3 per cents. at 49 this day.

6*th*.—Finance Committee. In the House, Slave Trade motion, by Mr. Charles Ellis, for an address to the King to direct his governors to recommend to the Legislative Assemblies of the West Indian islands to diminish the necessity of the slave trade, &c., by ameliorating the condition of the slaves, &c.

For the motion there spoke Bryan Edwards, Dundas, Lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Wyndham, and others. Against it, Wilberforce, Pitt, Fox, Ryder, and others. My objection to the motion was, first, that it assumed a necessity for the trade, which was not demonstrated, and which I deny. Secondly, that the measures proposed were in themselves nugatory, because they were unnecessary if the Assemblies were sincerely disposed to do the thing; and ineffectual if the Assemblies were not so disposed. Thirdly, that these measures were contrary to the plan for an immediate abolition, by holding out to the colonies the advice of abolishing the trade gradually. Also, the fact is, that, although the planters in England are honestly desirous of such a gradual abolition, yet the merchants here, and the Assemblies

there, do not desire it. For the motion, 99; against it, 63. The House rose at half-past one.

10*th.*—Finance Committee. In the House, Mr. Pollen moved an address that the King would take means to obviate the misconception of his intentions upon Lord Malmesbury's negotiation, &c. &c. Mr. Pitt stated the overtures already renewed for a general peace, and that Mr. Hammond was to go immediately with further instructions to Vienna. Upon the question for the order of the day, for it, 291; against it, 85.

I consulted the Speaker upon the propriety of our Committee inquiring into the arrears of the Civil List, and he agreed in the propriety of the line we had taken, by looking into the amount of Civil List monies advanced to the public services, but not into the arrears of the Civil List payments to its own proper creditors, without a special request from the Crown, or as an original direction from the House.

18*th.*—In the morning, called upon Mr. Irving, Inspector-General of Customs. Mr. Thomas Irving is a Scotchman by birth; he was appointed Inspector-General of the Customs in North America, by the Duke of Grafton. He was Member of the Council in South Carolina, and the first civil officer of the British Government who was put in prison upon the revolt of the colonies. Upon his return to England, he was unemployed till 1786, when his opinions being known upon the then pending questions of American intercourse with the colonies, he was examined before the Committee of the Privy Council; and, having been also consulted upon the subject of the Irish propositions, to which his own opinions were also adverse, his character became so well established for knowledge upon these subjects, that Mr. Pitt appointed him assistant to Mr. Pelham, then Inspector-General of the Customs; and Mr. Pelham dying in three months, Mr. Irving succeeded to his office.

In this situation, when consulted upon commercial

questions within that department of the revenue, he proposed to Mr. Pitt to have annual and complete statements of all branches of the revenue, including the Customs; and not only for England, but also for Scotland, and afterwards for all the foreign dominions of the British Empire. He afterwards extended his plans to similar statements of the commerce and navigation of the empire; and compiled above eighty volumes of statistical tables on these heads, carrying back their accounts for twenty-five years. At present a new summary is made for every year, whereof one copy is for Mr. Pitt, one for the Secretaries of the Treasury, and the third is kept by Mr. Irving himself.

Mr. Irving has visited the West Indies, and travelled over a great part of Europe. He made himself acquainted with the financial details of the old Governments of France and Holland, by researches in these countries before the Revolution. He was well known to Adam Smith. He showed me the French finance accounts of 1788, made up in the official forms of the French department of Finance.

20*th*.—The Finance Committee met. We read over a draft of a second report, viz., on the taxes imposed in 1796; and I presented to the House the Supplementary Appendix to our First Report.

21*st*.—Saw Sir J. Sinclair upon his Waste Land Report; the Committee settled the Second Finance Report, and afterwards presented it to the House.

22*nd*.—Finished an abstract of the regulations proposed in the twenty-five Reports of the Commissioners of Public Accounts, and of Inquiry into Offices and Fees, for the use of the Finance Committee.

23*rd*.—The seamen of Portsmouth returned to their duty.*

* The first outbreak of the sailors, known as the mutiny at Spithead, was of a very pardonable character. The sailors laboured under real grievances, and they preferred their complaints in an orderly and respectful manner. The grievances of which they demanded the redress were: — 1. The insufficiency of their pay, which remained at the rate fixed in the reign of Charles II., though prices had risen, as they truly and moderately

25*th.*—Finance Committee. Examined Mr. Lewis, Under-Secretary at War, upon the outstanding demands of the army, not included under the heads of the Pay Office Accounts.

26*th.*—Middlesex County Rate Bill. Divisions, first:—For it, 76; against it, 82. Second:—For it, 81; against it, 77. Ordered to be read a second time that day se'nnight. Budget. Mr. Pitt stood upon the statement of the Finance Committee, and spoke of it as an able and perspicuous view of the subject. Mr. Fox saw no ability in it, but several marks of carelessness. Mr. Sheridan did not see any material objections to its statements, nor think there were any fallacies in it, though he had not agreed to many of the points stated in the committee. There was a division upon the Newspaper Tax. Against it, 41; for it, 153.

27*th.*—Finance Committee upon the outstanding debts of the army. In the House the Promulgation Resolutions were agreed to, and a message ordered to desire a conference with the Lords, upon the subject of providing more effectual means, &c. I carried the

stated, 30 per cent. since that time. 2. The insufficiency and badness of their provisions, owing chiefly (as they alleged) to the rapacity and dishonesty of the pursers. 3. The fact that while the Chelsea pensions had been raised to 13*l.*, the Greenwich pensions remained at 7*l.* 4. They also, and with undeniable fairness, required that when wounded in the service of their country they should continue to receive their pay till they were cured and discharged. They also entreated to have more liberty of going ashore when in harbour.

The Board of Admiralty went down to Portsmouth to examine into their complaints, and granted most of their demands; raising the pay for able-bodied seamen to 1*s.* a day, and that of the rest in proportion, augmenting the Greenwich pensions to 10*l.*, &c.

The second outbreak was caused solely by a fear that these concessions would not be confirmed; and they demanded an Act of Parliament to ratify them, but subsequently confided in the promises of Lord Howe, who was sent down to pacify them.

The leaders of the third, or the mutiny at the Nore, in Admiral Duncan's fleet, scarcely alleged any grievance, except some inequality in the distribution of prize-money. They used the most threatening language, and proceeded to the most violent acts. The mutineers were disowned by the other fleets, and as the Government behaved with great resolution, they were soon crushed by a display of the force which was being prepared against them, and the ringleaders tried and executed.

message, and the Lords appointed Monday next. I afterwards reported their answer to the House.

28*th*.—Finance Committee. Began to examine the state of offices, &c.; and, our papers being complete upon the office of Secretaries of State, we began with these first. In the House the Kent Election Ballot failing for want of 49 members qualified and willing to serve, a call was ordered (under the last Act) for to-morrow; and, according to the precedent of 1793, it was also ordered that the names of those who did not answer upon the Ballot, should be set apart, and they ordered to attend on Monday, and to be taken into custody, if no sufficient excuse were given.

Monday, May 1*st*.—Finance Committee. In the House, at a quarter before four, I moved that managers might be appointed for the conference, and named them; after which I moved that a printed copy of the Report on Promulgation, &c., might be communicated with the Resolutions. The managers were then called over. 1st. The Master of the Rolls, who, as first manager, took the papers from off the table, and went forth. I was called next; the Attorney-General; Solicitor-General, &c.

At the Conference we stood up uncovered; the Master of the Rolls in the middle; and I at his right hand; the rest of the managers in a line. The Lords came in covered: viz., Lord Sydney, the Bishop of Bristol, Lord Auckland, &c. The Master of the Rolls then read the words explanatory of the purpose of the conference, which were prefixed and subjoined to the resolutions; and delivered the resolutions and report to Lord Sydney. The Lords then bowed and withdrew.

The managers returned to the House of Commons; and the Master of the Rolls read at the Bar a report of the conference, viz., in terms similar to those upon the conference on the Irish Propositions: Com. Journ., vol. 40. The Speaker quitted the chair during the absence of the managers; and all business was suspended till after their report.

Upon the vote of a loan to the Emperor, Mr. Fox moved that the chairman should leave the chair, in order to postpone the vote. Ayes, 50; Noes, 191.

2nd.—In the House the Canterbury Committee Ballot, upon which a debate took place how to proceed; when the petitioners in the interest of the candidates, Sir J. Honeywood and Mr. Gibbs, objected to other petitioners (who disputed the rights of candidates and sitting members), that they were in collusion with the sitting members, and ought not to be allowed to challenge as distinct parties. Upon a motion that this petition was in collusion with the sitting members, and ought to be rejected, there was a division. Ayes, 44; Noes, 128. But these petitioners thought it advisable immediately to disclaim their right of challenge, which put an end to all further difficulties.

5th.—Read over draft of third report to the Finance Committee.

News arrived from Sir Morton Eden at Vienna, that the Emperor had signed preliminaries of peace* with Buonaparte, reserving a right to the Allies to treat at a Congress at Berne.

* The Austrians, after having received several defeats in the north of Italy from Buonaparte in 1796, and having lost Mantua, and having been defeated at Rivoli and in other actions of less importance in the beginning of 1797, on the 9th of April signed preliminaries of peace at Leoben, and Conferences for the establishment of permanent peace were opened at Montebello, which in the autumn resulted in the conclusion of the peace of Campo Formio.

CHAP. VI.

1797.

SECOND MUTINY. — SUPPLY. — DEFEAT OF MR. GREY'S MOTION AGAINST PITT. — LETTER FROM LORD CLIFDEN ON THE STATE OF IRELAND. — MR. GREY'S MOTION FOR REFORM IN PARLIAMENT LOST. — MUTINY AT THE NORE. — CONVERSATION WITH THE LORD CHANCELLOR ON THE PROMULGATION OF THE STATUTES. — REPORT ON THE CUSTOMS. — REVIEW OF THE LIGHT-HORSE VOLUNTEERS. — PROROGATION.

MAY 8th. — News of a second mutiny at Portsmouth. Our Finance Committee by common consent adjourned without doing any business. In the afternoon the telegraph brought news of the sailors having returned to their duty.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt moved the resolution for the amount of supply equal to the stipulated increase of pay. Entreating the *silent* judgment of the House upon the question; and professing to abstain from all particulars of the circumstances which gave occasion to the vote. Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan both spoke for the vote, but required explicit accounts of the transaction. Mr. Pitt gave none. The House rose at half-past one. And a copy of the votes certified, as (I saw) to be a true copy by Hatsell, and signed by him, was carried to the Admiralty at the instant the House rose.

9th.—The Finance Committee agreed to a third report. In the House of Commons the Seamen's Bill was read a first, second, and third time, and passed. It was carried through the House of Lords in the same mode, and received the Royal Assent. No divisions: but violent criminations of Ministry for having delayed the measure so long as to produce the second mutiny.

10th. — In the House Whitbread moved a vote of

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censure against His Majesty's Ministers for not causing to be prepared, &c. an estimate at an earlier period, &c. Ayes, 63; Noes, 237.

11*th.* — Finance Committee. I presented the third report.

15*th.* — Finance Committee resolved to proceed upon the concluding branch of its instructions by dividing its labour. As Chairman, I undertook to prepare the introductory statement of the preceding inquiry by the Commissioners under the Act of Parliament, and the effect of their reports, &c.; a report on the Customs; a report on the expenditure of the public for the management of the Public Debt; a report upon all the Exchequer officers.

Other members took each a department; and the Committee resolved to meet every day at half-past three, to consider of further papers if wanting, and to postpone a general meeting till summoned at the instance of some member specifying the particular purpose.

In the House Mr. Wilberforce moved for leave to bring in a Bill for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. I did not attend. He lost his question by about 80 to 60.

I summoned the Finance Committee for Friday on the expenditure for management of the public debt. And, after advising with the Speaker, discontinued the custom of sending our orders for accounts, &c. through the Treasury, and directed them to be carried by the messenger to the respective officer to which they related.

In the House Mr. Grey moved a vote of censure on Mr. Pitt for his conduct as it appeared upon the report of the Secret Committee. For it, 60; against it, 206.

Only Mr. Grey, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Fox spoke. The debate began at half-past six, and lasted till one in the morning.

17*th.* — The Finance Committee met at half-past three as usual.

In the House of Lords I spoke to the Chancellor, and he said no time should be lost in bringing forward the Promulgation Resolution.

In the House of Commons the Limited Jurisdiction Bill was brought in by Parker Coke. Went to a committee, but before the clauses could be entered upon the House was counted out.

19*th*.—In the House motion of Alderman Combe to dismiss Ministers. Ayes, 59; Noes, 243. No leader of Opposition nor any of the Ministers spoke. The division took place at half-past nine.

From Ireland I received the following letter from Lord Clifden*:—

Dublin, May 15th, 1797.

My dear Abbot,—I return you many thanks for yours of the fifth and tenth. This last mutiny at Portsmouth excited lively sensations here. The loyal were dismayed even to make one laugh. The United Irishmen were elated even to make one rage and swear; both parties are now more tranquil. I hope to send you by this night's mail the reports of the secret committees of the Lords and Commons. Such a system of treason has seldom been seen. The North is deeply infected. The Southern districts are yet, I hope, pure. There have been in the course of last week some actions in the North, in one of which fifty yeomen defeated 300 United Men, and cut many to pieces. In a second about 100 Dublin militia, Dundalk yeomanry cavalry, and Watkin's Ancient British Fencibles, defeated above 1000, and cut a vast number to pieces. There were about sixty militia, the rest cavalry. I hope to go to my house at Gouran to take the command of my yeomanry in about a fortnight. I am delayed in town by measures to be brought forward in Parliament in consequence of the reports. Every effort has been made to seduce the militia and army with no effect. There is a vast force now in this country, and more coming from Britain. Many lives must be lost, but these traitors will in the end be exterminated. If the war goes on and the French effect a landing here, which they will certainly attempt, this island will be the scene of blood and confusion for a long time; but in the end Britain, aided by the property of the country, must reconquer it. I had no conception, till lately, how widely and

* Lord Clifden was clerk to the Privy Council in Ireland.

deeply the roots of insurrection spread. I feel happy that my wife, children, and all I hold most dear, are safe and at a distance from the flame that may consume this land. I think my property will, in the end, be secured to my family; and for the danger, it must be faced, and I think, come what may, though many may fall, the good cause will prevail. Notwithstanding the unpleasant prospect I feel in good spirits, which I reckon a positive good, for many appear in strange and most useless dismay. I am, dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

CLIFDEN.

I beg my respects to Mrs. Abbot.

22*nd*.—In the Finance Committee I read the draft of a report upon the expense of managing the public debt.

23*rd*.—In the House Fox moved the repeal of the Treason and Seditions Acts. Ayes, 52; Noes, 260.

The division took place at half-past nine. Nobody spoke on Fox's side but himself. The Ministers were all silent. Those who spoke against the repeal were Serjeant Adair, Lord Morpeth, and one or two others.

24*th*.—Gave the Chancellor my papers of proposed proceeding upon the Conference Resolutions of Promulgation. Lord Auckland moved to take them into consideration on Tuesday next. In the House of Commons the Augmentation of the Army Pay was proposed and not objected to.

25*th*.—Drawing Room after the Princess Royal's marriage.

26*th*.—House of Commons. Mr. Grey's motion for Reform of Parliament. Mr. Grey opened and Mr. Erskine seconded. Mr. Pitt answered, and was followed by Sir Francis Burdett, Thornton, Sir R. Hill, Lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Sheridan, &c.; and Mr. Fox closed the debate.

Grey's speech was moderate and discreet. 1. He disclaimed theoretical principles either in favour of the rights of man and universal suffrage on the one side; or as founded upon the inequality of local representation

on the other. His object and ground were *practically* to make the House of Commons the more immediate image of the people and the guardian of its interests. This he contended they were not at present, as appeared by their support of Ministers who wasted their money, &c. 2. His plan was to make the 92 county members 113, by giving 2 to each Riding of Yorkshire, and division of Lincolnshire, &c.; and to substitute in lieu of all other rights of election of the 400 other Members one general scot and lot right for householders divided into districts. 3. He argued that the *present time* was the very best, the redress being the most necessary when the people were most discontented.

Mr. Fox argued for the plan of scot and lot, &c., as approaching nearest to Mr. Hood's plan, which he thought the best. He relied upon this as the ancient common law right of borough election, and so decided by Serjeant Glanville's Committee in James I.'s reign. He argued on the subject of instruction that the very reason of leaving Members free from the control of instruction from their constituents made it the more necessary to abolish close boroughs, of which the representative holds himself bound in honour to act consonantly with the opinion or instructions of the patron, peer, or commoner who placed him there, or to resign his seat.

Mr. Pitt resisted the time and plan. The *time*, because when all other circumstances agitated the public no change was so likely to stop at the point which its own projector proposed; and as to the *plan*, that scot and lot was practically found to be the worst mode of elective franchise, the most corrupt and violent; and that the present variety of franchises caused the present variety of professions and characters which blended all distinctions, and made up an assembly more like the mixed mass of the people than any one principle of election could produce. Division at two o'clock in the morning. Ayes, 91; Noes, 256.

Received the following letter from Lord Clifden:—

Dublin, May 23rd, 1797.

My dear Abbot,—I feel very much obliged to you for your different letters on the subject of the fleet; and was happy to hear by yours of the 15th, that the dispute is at last settled. Upon the latter part of your letter I think the best thing for you to know, is the state of the case as far as I know it. In consequence of the opposition at Oxford, on the last election, Wm. Spencer was very active and very useful, and has, I believe, an assurance of that seat in the event, so much talked of, that our friend Burton should be made a Judge. So, I believe the matter stands; but not having it from the *best authority*, it amounts only to belief. I think there will be a seat at Heytesbury vacant before that in Oxford; but however this may be, I suppose you can talk to Burton upon your own business; who, being on the spot, is more *au courant* than I am, who have already been absent three months, and may be twelve more. I believe there is every good disposition towards you felt by the Chief*, and considering your character in the world, and the reputation you have so well gained, both by your talents and industry in Parliament, I am well convinced they would be very glad to have such a friend. I am sure I need not say that this is only to yourself. I must go to the county of Kilkenny in three or four days to encounter that spirit of rebellion which has already spread into the neighbouring counties; it begins by oaths of secrecy, adherence, and obedience to orders, which lead directly to assassination. A strong proclamation has been issued by the Council, under which the Lord Lieutenant has ordered the military to act everywhere without the civil magistrate in dispersing all illegal assemblies, &c., seizing arms; and, I believe, that it is understood, that wherever arms are demanded, not given up, and, on searching are found, the houses are to be burned. Kildare is in a flame from end to end; Carlow is beginning, and if you look on your map you will see Kilkenny joins the latter county. My corps (cavalry) consists of fifty men and four officers, including myself. We have agreed to patrol through our district every night. One officer and twelve men will be on duty each night; so that unless on a sudden attack or any extraordinary cause, a man may sleep three nights and ride for his health the fourth. I suppose by use it will become as pleasant as riding in Hyde

* The Duke of Marlborough.

Park. Excellent corps of Fencibles are landing every day from England. I think, unless a powerful invasion takes place, we shall soon settle this business; but it can only be by the sword. Already, I hear the United Irishmen in the North begin to be dismayed, and as the troops are spread over the country, all who joined them through fear, one half their number on paper, will turn against them and probably prove their bitterest enemies. Still, if the war continues, and the French can really invade with a large body of troops, this island must be a scene of blood and confusion. Under these circumstances it appears to me that a vacancy for Heytesbury may take place.

Is Lord Cornwallis coming here? If the war is to continue, it seems very wise to send him. It will give great confidence to those who swear with life and fortune to support the King and Constitution. It is strange that the preliminaries between Austria and France are still unknown.

I sent you the report of both Houses here, which I see is advertised now in London. The activity of these traitors is extreme; but I am as happy to tell you as you will be to hear, that they have almost entirely failed on the military of all descriptions. Some severe examples have been made on a very few whom they seduced, and a spirit of indignation has been raised in the different corps that will make them act with the utmost vigour. I am ashamed of the length of this letter, and will only add that I am, My dear Abbot, yours most sincerely,

CLIFDEN.

30*th*.—In the House of Lords Lord Auckland moved the Lords to concur in the resolutions of the House of Commons, and to vote an address and a message to the Commons signifying the same. Cowper* raised difficulties throughout to impede Lord Auckland, although he admitted to me (immediately before the business came on) that there was no objection.

31*st*.—From ten till four was on horseback with the Light Horse Volunteers. At one we went to Hyde Park, mustering about 150 file and 18 officers, besides two brass six-pounders with a detachment of 20 Horse Artillery and 2 officers from Woolwich. We were inspected by General Grosvenor; and after the review paraded through Grosvenor Square and Berkeley Square

* Mentioned later as Assistant Clerk to the House of Lords.

to Colonel Hervie's house in Grafton Street, where the colours were lodged.

Thursday, June 1st.—In the House of Lords upon inquiry I found that Cowper had never sent any message in consequence of the Tuesday's vote, nor even entered the proceeding in the minutes of the House. Lord Auckland was extremely surprised, and desired me to write him a note stating the omission, in order that he might act upon it.

2nd.—Finance Committee. Burdon read the first part of the Report on the Post Office.

In the House. The Lords' Message came down; and I moved (by the Speaker's desire) that it should be taken into consideration on Wednesday next.

Mr. Pitt moved an address upon the King's message for considering of some effectual laws to punish the seduction of Army or Navy.

3rd.—Mr. Pitt went through the Bill for punishing the Instigators of Mutiny in Army or Navy; and it was read a third time *nem. con.* Irving retracted the negative he had given the day before. A Bill for punishing those who hold intercourse with mutinous ships was also read a first, second, and third time.

5th.—At eleven about 160 members met in the House of Commons on the Committee upon the Bill for cutting off intercourse with the mutinous ships. It was read a third time and passed. Upon the question for the third reading Sturt, M.P. for Bridport, divided the House, or attempted to do so. He was the only No. The Ayes went forth. Upon our return the Speaker acquainted the House that he had appointed the Attorney-General and Mr. Baker tellers for the Ayes, and Mr. Sturt teller for the Noes; but there being no other teller for the Noes, it was his duty to declare "The Ayes had it." The Bill was nevertheless (upon the question for the passing) passed, *nemine contradicente*, and entered so, of which, the Speaker told me afterwards, he doubted the propriety.

The Drawing Room was full. I talked with the

Duke of Montrose and Mr. Pitt about the Volunteer Light Horse. Mr. Pitt wished they were 2000, and spoke of some recruits soon to be added.

At Mr. Pitt's before dinner the Speaker told me he had had a long conversation with the King at the Drawing Room, to whom he had talked about the Promulgation of the Statutes, and mentioned me, &c. &c., and that the King spoke of it in terms of great approbation.

6th.—Finance Committee at twelve. The two Mutiny Bills passed the Lords, and received the Royal Assent.

7th.—At twelve Finance Committee. Burdon's Report on the Post Office proceeded. In the House, the Lords' Address on Promulgation was agreed to, and I was sent with the message to the Lords. I mentioned to the Speaker my desire of examining Irving on particular points respecting collection of the revenue, and particularly the Customs.

9th.—Finance Committee; Burdon's Post Office Report. I carried up the message to the Lords communicating the agreement of the House of Commons to their Address. Intimation was given to me that I might examine Irving.

Received the following letter from Lord Clifden:—

Dublin, June 7th, 1797.

My dear Abbot,—I am much obliged to you for yours of the 27th of May and the 3rd of June. This mutiny is the most unfortunate of all things at this moment; but I hope and think some means will be devised to put an end to it. I have the satisfaction to tell you things improve here very fast, which, it was evident must be the case, when Government used vigorous exertions. Whole districts in the North are coming in to take the oath of allegiance, and, what is of more value, giving up their arms. A letter from a friend I can rely upon says, "That in our parish 1400 guns, with pikes and swords innumerable, have been given up." The leading traitors in Belfast and Newry are escaping as fast as they can. No day passes without informations being received, and in fact they are betraying each other as fast as you can desire. The last proclamation, aided by the military who search for arms, and if not delivered on

demand and afterwards found concealed, burn the houses, has produced the salvation of this country. There are strong reports of peace. I hope it may take place; but if the war continues we shall suppress the rebellion, disarm the traitors and disaffected, and have only to fight the French, instead of having invasion in the South and rebellion in the North at the same time.

The army shows the best disposition in all places and on all occasions. The British Fencibles and Irish militia try who shall shoot or cut in pieces United Irishmen fastest. I shall go to the county the day after to-morrow to raise another corps of yeomanry, and I shall stay there till the contest is over. I am happy to say the South of Ireland is in the best state, and all men are ready to suppress the smallest appearance of riot or disturbance. The entire defeat of the Northern projects will, I think, secure the rest of the kingdom in tranquillity. There is a general report here that Pitt was out on Saturday last at noon. I perceive *you* had not heard this news at half-past five in the evening. Put an end to this sad business in the navy and all will yet be well. I am, dear Abbot, yours most sincerely,

CLIFDEN.

I beg my respects and best compliments to Mrs. Abbot.

12*th.*—Finance Committee. Went through the remainder of Burdon's draught of the Post Office.

At six in the evening the Light Horse Volunteers were ordered to repair to their stables, a meeting of the Corresponding Society being appointed to assemble in Pancras Field. It met, but very soon dispersed quietly, and without any authority, civil or military, being called in. At eight we were dismissed. About thirty-five of the corps met at an hour's notice in Gray's Inn Road, and another body in Worship Street.

14*th.*—Parker the delegate at the Nore, and Davies his deputy, and many others, were apprehended; and all the ships except five returned to their duty.

Stocks 3 per cent. were 54½.

The House of Lords sent a message to the Commons acquainting them that the King had appointed to-morrow at half-past three to receive the Promulgation Address. I moved that "Four Members of this House do go with the Lords mentioned in the message to wait

upon the King with the Address." (The Lords had appointed the Lord President and Lord Viscount Sydney.) I then moved that Lord Stopford, Lord C. Somerset, the Master of the Rolls, and Mr. Ryder do go with the Lords mentioned with the Address, &c., which was ordered accordingly. The Speaker pursued the precedent of 31st March, 1756.

15*th.*—Finance Committee. Mr. Harrison read his draft of report on the Barrack department.

The Master of the Rolls reported to the House the King's answer:—"That he would give immediate directions for promulgating the statutes according to the Resolutions of both Houses."

17*th.*—The Chancellor sent for me out of the Court of King's Bench into his room, where we had the conversation of which the minutes are given below.

1. The Chancellor desired me to consider of the best mode of giving effect to the resolutions of both Houses for promulgation of the statutes; and to communicate it to the Duke of Portland*, viz., the proper form of issuing the King's orders to his printer for that purpose, and any notification to the magistrates that they would receive the statutes accordingly; and said that he, the Chancellor, should to-day deliver the resolutions and address (which he then held in his hand) to the Duke of Portland.

2. He said the King had read the resolutions, and highly approved of them, and desired to have the report also, that the whole might be complete; and that if I would have them put up together, like the volume which I had sent to him (the Chancellor), he would deliver it to the King.

3. The Chancellor asked me whether it was not true that the Bankruptcy Laws would expire soon. I told him the 5 Geo. II. would expire this session; but that all or most of the other Bankruptcy Statutes were perpetual. The Chancellor thought this had better also

* Secretary of State for the Home Department at this time.

be made perpetual, and he asked whether there was not a Committee for these expiring laws.

I told him there was, but that, in the way in which that Committee was conducted, it only looked to laws of revenue.

He said he would mention it to the Attorney-General, and desire him to give notice of a Bill on Monday.

4. I told the Chancellor that Lord Hardwicke wrote to me a few days ago, mentioning also that the Act for regulating all the Volunteer Corps, would expire to-morrow if there was peace. He said that Act also was very important and required consideration.

5. He mentioned an Act of Mr. Ryder's, which was to come on yesterday about corn; and that he had notice of it yesterday; but that it was not a proper way of requiring a commission to be made out; and that no commission could now be ready till Monday, and the matter must do as well as it could. And he added that he thought there had been a clerk about the House of Commons, whose business it was to look to these Public Bills. So our conversation ended.

In consequence of it I obtained a letter from the Duke of Portland to Mr. Strahan, directing him to carry the resolutions into practical effect, and to report the same to the Duke. Also an order for the Gazette, notifying the proposed distribution by a transcript of that part of the resolutions containing the list.

Cowper, Assistant Clerk of the House of Lords, was preparing, by Lord Grenville's direction, a Bill to provide for the meeting of a new Parliament in the case of the King's demise after a dissolution and before the next Parliament had assembled. Also a Bill was under consideration for enabling the King to call Parliament together in fourteen days, notwithstanding a prorogation.

18*th*.—Irving came to me after church, and settled the plan of questions for the examination before the Finance Committee.

Dined at the Master of the Rolls'. There were Mr.

Justice Lawrence and Mr. Smelt. The latter told me "it was the King's wish that I should execute my plan of promulgation according to my own ideas." Ryder told me that the King said to the Joint Committee of Lords and Commons on the Promulgation Address, that "he was glad this measure had taken place in his reign."

20*th*. — In the Finance Committee we proceeded to examine General Delancey in the Barracks, and to read Burdon's Post Office Report.

21*st*. — I went to the levee, where the Chancellor had taken my copy of the Parliamentary Proceedings on the Promulgation of the Statutes. The King received it from the Chancellor, and talked to me a short time about it. The Duke of Portland told me that the King's suggestion was the best, viz., that it should be left to me to give my own directions about the mode of carrying the plan into execution.

In the evening I had a long consultation with Strahan to settle all the details; and it was agreed that he should obtain from the Duke of Portland a letter to the Postmaster-General, directing him to forward the statutes by the general penny-post; and one circular letter to all Under-sheriffs, directing them to keep them for public inspection, and to assign them over to their successors in office. Another circular letter also to every Clerk of the Peace, to the same effect, and directing them to signify His Majesty's pleasure to the Chairman of the Quarter Sessions, at the ensuing Midsummer Session, that arrangements should be made for dividing the number of copies allotted to each jurisdiction among the Quarter Sessions, Petty Sessions, and District Meetings, and for other uses most advantageous to the public service.

22*nd*.—I wrote to Lord Walsingham to desire he would move for a Committee in the House of Lords to carry the fifth resolution into effect, by settling the compensation for the Clerk of the Parliament, &c., in private Statutes. He afterwards told me he had put my letter into Cowper's hands.

23*rd*.—In the Finance Committee I read the first part of my proposed report on the Customs.

24*th*.—Read the further continuation of it.

26*th*.—Strahan settled with me the further details of his plan, in consequence of his communications with the Secretary of the Post Office. The first distribution took place to-night. It amounted to 550 sets, including all the Under-sheriffs and Clerks of the Peace in the kingdom. To-morrow the penny-post distributes the London set, and the resident acting Justices are to have theirs. The one Act first sent as a trial and beginning of the plan was the new Stamp Duty Act.

27*th*.—At twelve, Finance Committee. Mr. Ryder's report on the Treasury not being ready, we completed the Barrack Report.

28*th*.—The Light Horse Volunteers assembled on Clapham Common. The King, Queen, Princesses, the Prince of Wales, Duke of York, and Duchess of York, Prince Ernest, and the Prince of Orange, came to the ground upon Wimbledon Common at ten, where we were reviewed without accident or disgrace. Amongst our corps were the following:—The Duke of Montrose, the Hon. Spencer Perceval *, Mr. Manners Sutton †, Mr. Vansittart ‡, Mr. Garrow §, Mr. Launcelot Shadwell ‖, Mr. C. W. Wynn, and Serjeant Adair. At twelve the review ended.¶

In the House of Commons I had a conversation with the Speaker, Mr. Hatsell, and Mr. Ley, about the Promulgation Resolutions, and the execution of the seventh and eighth.

* Afterwards Prime Minister.

† Afterwards Speaker of the House of Commons; raised to the Peerage as Lord Canterbury.

‡ Afterwards Chancellor of the Exchequer; raised to the Peerage as Lord Bexley.

§ Afterwards a Baron of the Exchequer.

‖ Afterwards Vice-Chancellor of England.

¶ The following printed instructions for their appearance were issued to the L. H. V. on this occasion: —

"Hair powdered and greased, six inches long, close to the head; turban of the helmet and feather cleaned or renewed; black leather stock and turn-

29*th.*—Finance Committee. Ryder read part of a report on the Treasury.

30*th.*—Finance Committee. Thornton examined a principal clerk from the Ordnance.

In the House, Mr. Pitt proposed new taxes in lieu of the turnpike, &c., which he had abandoned.

Parker, the leader of the delegates at the Nore, was hanged.

Saturday, July 1*st.*—Finance Committee; Ryder went through the rest of his report on the Treasury.

3*rd.*—Finance Committee. Examined witnesses from the Salt Office and Customs.

4*th.*—Examined witnesses from the Tax Office. I moved for leave to bring in a Bill to perpetuate 30 Geo. II. c. 30.*

Under the new Act for increasing prisoners' allowances, 40 received notes for 3*s.* 6*d.* per week, and 30 were discharged for want of it.

6*th.*—Finance Committee. McGregor read the rest of the report. We examined Irving, and reported the case of the Messengers' Fees to the Speaker. From this day to the 13th I was occupied literally every hour of every day from nine in the morning till eleven at night (the hour of dinner alone excepted) in the business of the Finance Committee, either at the House of Commons or at home.

13*th.*—At half-past eleven I went by appointment to the Speaker. He agreed in the facility with which the seventh resolution of Promulgation might be exe-

over; new Hussar jacket; swords well polished; cross-belts well whitened, and pistol belts over them; white wash-leather gloves; white leather breeches; regimental boots and spurs; one pistol only, and that in the left holster; the right for a handkerchief or anything else; chain bridoons; horse collar and coat-case well cleaned and whitened.

"The officers to have no saddle-cloths at the review. They are to have waist-belts under the jacket, with gold sword-knots, and the sash over the cartouch-belt.

"New sword slings will be at the stables in Gray's Inn-lane on Wednesday, much more convenient than the old."

* This was an Act for further bounty on vessels employed in the herring fishery.

cuted. But it was agreed to postpone it till the next session. He spoke of the great want of an efficient chairman of Ways and Means to look at the Public Bills.

20*th*.—From Thursday last to this day my attendance upon the Finance Committee was constant. Our hours were from twelve to five,—six to seven. And on the intermediate Sunday Ryder and I met in the House of Commons to look over some of the draughts of reports. Yesterday I presented seventeen reports, and to-day the remaining two, with concluding remarks. And the Parliament was prorogued.

CHAP. VII.

1797.

THE DUC DE BOURBON.—SEDITIOUS MEETING OF THE LONDON CORRESPONDING SOCIETY.—COUP D'ETAT OF 18TH FRUCTIDOR IN PARIS.—MEETING OF PARLIAMENT.—DEBATE ON NEGOTIATION WITH FRANCE.—ADDRESS ON THE WAR.—RESOLUTIONS ON THE TREBLE ASSESSED TAXES.—CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE DUKE OF LEEDS ON MR. ABBOT'S SUPPORT OF THE INCREASE OF THE ASSESSED TAXES.

JULY 26th.—I went to the levee, being the last this season. Lord Mornington took leave for Madras, and Anstruther for Calcutta. Tom Sutton kissed hands as Anstruther's successor for his Welsh Judgeship.

27th.—The Duc de Bourbon, Lord Hardwicke, and others dined with us. The Duc de Bourbon stayed till between ten and eleven. His air is melancholy. He does not decline talking upon French affairs, but speaks of them with great reserve. He was married at sixteen to a sister of the last Duke of Orleans (Philippe Egalité). She remained in France. His own father, the Prince de Condé, and his son, the Duke d'Enghien, are at this time with the Condéan army in Germany.

31st.—At one o'clock the Light Horse Volunteers assembled in Gray's Inn Lane, and the Corresponding Society in a field behind the Veterinary College at Pancras.

At two the chair was taken by Bians, the secretary, who began by reading the Corresponding Society's advertisement, and the Bow Street Magistrate's advertisement, and then proceeded to speak for the right of the people to universal suffrage, upon which he was immediately *taken into custody*. In the same manner three others: Fergusson, Barron, and Trichey were apprehended. The Light Horse Volunteers were then marched into the field in a close column, and the popu-

lace dispersed, after which the Light Horse Volunteers came back to Gray's Inn Lane, and were dismissed in the field opposite the stables at four o'clock.

On September 4th three of the Directory of France deposed and banished the other two, together with sixty-four members of the councils; sentenced the printers of thirty-two newspapers to transportation, and annulled the elections of fifty departments, without proof or even charge of any specific fact, except as to Pichégru, whom, nevertheless, they did not bring to a trial.*

Monday, Sept. 25th.—Mr. Pitt's circular letter, announcing the probability of the meeting of Parliament early in the first week of November, was issued.

Saturday, Oct. 28th.—The King's declaration was issued.†

* This is the *coup d'état* known in the annals of the French Revolution as the 18th Fructidor. At the beginning of July Lord Malmesbury had been sent to Lisle to negotiate for peace; and before the end of the month he reported to the English Cabinet the existence of great dissensions in the French Directory. Barras, Reutell, and Rèveillière Lepaux being the violent, Carnot and Barthélémi the moderate party. (See *Lord Malmesbury's Diary, &c.*, vol. iii. pp. 418, 452, 479, 522.) At last, on the 17th Fructidor (3rd September), they ordered the Generals Augereau and Horne to approach Paris with their troops. On the 4th they adopted the measures mentioned in the text. The pretext for them was the (real or pretended) discovery of a plot formed by Pichégru to restore the Bourbons; and it was said that evidence of the reality of this plot was discovered by Buonaparte among the papers which he seized at Venice. Many, even of the French Republicans, believed these papers, or the greater part of them, to be forged. In Lord Malmesbury's opinion this transaction frustrated the conclusion of peace of which he had previously had sanguine hopes, for the three Directors now dominant recalled those who had hitherto conducted the negotiation, sending in their place two men—Trechard and Bonnier—of violent politics and manners, who on the 17th broke off the whole negotiations, and desired Lord Malmesbury to quit Lisle in twenty-four hours, unless he would at once consent to an article engaging for "the restoration of all the possessions taken either from France or from her allies by Great Britain." — *Lord Malmesbury*, vol. iii. pp. 541, 543, 562, 571.

† This declaration was an announcement to the nation at large of the means which the King had taken to bring about peace with France; of the extravagant and offensive demands which the French negotiators had advanced, which had made it "manifest to France, to Europe, and to the world," that he had no alternative but to continue the war, "unless he was prepared to surrender and sacrifice to the undisguised ambition of his enemies the honour of his Crown and the safety of his dominions." He assured his people "that he would not be wanting to them," and expressed his confidence "that they would not be wanting to themselves."

During the vacation I received a letter from the Board of Customs, desiring copies of the *Finance Reports* to enable them to prepare the Bills requisite for carrying into effect such measures as the fourth report had suggested. This letter I forwarded to the Speaker, with one from myself.

Thursday, Nov. 2nd.—Parliament met, and on the 3rd the proceedings of the negotiation were laid before Parliament.

Neither Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, nor Mr. Sheridan attended in the House of Commons; nor the Duke of Bedford, Lord Guildford, &c., in the House of Lords.

10*th.*—A debate on the last negotiation with France. Mr. Pitt's speech, equally disclaiming the pusillanimity of Sir John Sinclair's amendment deprecating war, and Lord Temple's extreme Burkisms against peace, so far satisfied everybody that the amendment was withdrawn. No Fox, Sheridan, or Grey.

Settled with the Speaker, Lord Walsingham, and Mr. Strahan about the proceedings for printing the Promulgation Statute. Also delivered to the Speaker my papers entitled "A Recapitulation of the Proceedings of the Finance Committee, and of their Reports. With considerations for the further Prosecution of such Inquiries."

15*th.*—Both Houses went up with the Address upon the War. The King read his answer with great spirit and energy. In the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt moved for the revival of the former Bank Committee, adding Lord Belgrave instead of Mr. Powys (created a peer).*

Sir John Sinclair desired to know whether the Finance Committee was to be revived. Mr. Pitt said he was so far inclined to the measure, that he should take an early opportunity of stating to the House the measures actually taken by the Executive Government towards carrying into effect such of the recommendations of the Committee as appeared to be practicable.

* By the title of Lord Lilford.

The vote of 110,000 seamen (instead of 120,000 according to last year's vote) being proposed, Mr. Hussey objected to any reduction, and Lord Arden stated that the number borne upon muster had been 116,000 or 117,000.

16*th.*—In the House of Commons I gave notice of moving, to make the 7th and 8th Resolutions for the Promulgation of Statutes, standing orders.

17*th.*—The Speaker and William Ley being of opinion that resolutions of a former session having of course ceased with that session, it was necessary to move those resolutions anew, and then to make them (so renewed) standing orders, I accordingly took this course, and the 7th and 8th resolutions were made standing orders.

Mr. Ryder asked my leave to obtain from the Speaker my papers on the Finance Committee and its reports, in order that Mr. Pitt might take them with him to Hollwood on Sunday.

Bankes and Gifford are the two editors of the new weekly paper, to appear to-morrow — the "Anti-Jacobin."

20*th.*—In the House of Commons, Mr. Wyndham moved the resolutions upon the Army Estimates, and noticed the omission of any charge for the War Office salaries, inasmuch as a Fee Fund was to be established, and fixed salaries to be given in lieu of fees, according to the recommendation of the Finance Committee. At the same time he argued at considerable length in disparagement of the very measure which he recommended the House to adopt.

21*st.*—Ryder told me that my Finance Committee Papers, which he had received from the Speaker, were left in the hands of Mr. Pitt; that they had looked into them at Hollwood on Sunday, but the Budget was so much more urgent, that their whole attention had been occupied by that subject. The Speaker also told me that Mr. Pitt was much pleased with them; and he promised that he would have them returned to me.

23*rd.*—Mr. Pitt asked me in the House of Commons whether I had any objections to his naming that day fortnight for moving to refer the report of the Finance Committee to a Committee of the whole House, and considering of the re-appointment of the Committee; and, upon my assenting, he expressed also his satisfaction at the papers which had been communicated to him, and gave notice to the House for Tuesday, Dec. 7th. H. Addington also expressed his own satisfaction with respect to these papers which Mr. Pitt had lent him.

24*th.*—Mr. Pitt opened his proposed plan of trebling the assessed taxes. Neither Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, nor Mr. Sheridan present.

27*th.*—House of Commons. The Tewkesbury return of there having been no election on account of a mistake in the hour of giving notice, was disposed of by allowing fourteen days for any petition, before the House could order a new writ.

30*th.*—Called on Mr. Way, and heard the arrangements made about the Clerk of the Papers in the King's Bench. The supposed value of the office is from 1700*l.* to 2000*l.* nett annual receipt. I understood 5000*l.* to have been paid for it. Lord Kenyon had no share in the appointment; he only did not disapprove of the nominee.

Monday, Dec. 4*th.*—House of Commons. Mr. Pitt brought forward his detailed resolutions upon the Treble Assessed Taxes. In the course of the debate, Mr. Pierrepoint declared his regret that *no part of the Royal Family* contributed to the taxes for the present support of the war. Mr. Tierney joined in the same regret.

The Speaker (the House being in a Committee) from the gallery, spoke to declare his knowledge of the intention of several to contribute beyond the obligations of law, whose habits of expenditure would not otherwise subject them to a fair proportion of the public burdens in comparison with their means. Division for the Resolutions, 214; against, 15.

5*th.*—The Speaker told me of the plan settled with

Hatsell for arranging the matter of Enclosure Bills by the Lords, likely to be by them communicated to the Commons. We had a conversation also upon the voluntary contributions. The consideration of the Finance Committee's Reports was postponed by Mr. Pitt till Monday, 18th.

7th.—Mr. Tierney moved for an account of Lord Buckingham's Tellership, for the last four years; its profits, deductions, &c. Notice of motion upon the 16th Finance Report for Thursday, the 14th. Debate for the second reading of the Assessed Tax Bill: for Monday next, 58; for Thursday, 5.

8th.—Mr. Nichol's motion for limiting salaries, &c. of officers during pleasure under the Crown, made and withdrawn. See the excellent speech of Mr. Pitt.

10th.—Ryder mentioned his having been at work the day before with Mr. Pitt, upon the Finance Reports; and that they are much assisted by my papers, which enabled them also to check some similar papers drawn up by Rose.

11th.—Dined at Mr. Pitt's. At coming away Mr. Pitt thanked me for my papers which I had lent him through Ryder. Expressed his satisfaction with them; and desired to have half an hour's conversation with me before the business came on in Parliament, as there were some points, and particular sums stated as savings, which he wished to have more fully explained.

14th.—Second reading of Increased Assessed Tax Bill: Opposition came down for the first time*, except

*. Mr. Fox and most of his immediate followers had latterly, as a general rule, absented themselves from all discussions in Parliament; and at a great meeting of his constituents held in October of this year, Mr. Fox had justified his conduct on this point to them by an assertion that through the exertion by the Minister of undue influence upon Members of Parliament, and especially upon the country gentlemen, he had secured himself a majority, which conducted every thing in such a manner that he himself "could not serve either his country or his constituents by attendance in Parliament."

N.B. At this time the Duke of Leeds wrote Mr. Abbot a letter which led to a long correspondence, the Duke expressing a wish that Mr. Abbot should not vote for the increase of the Assessed Taxes, and Mr. Abbot avowing (with sincere regret) that he conceived it to be his duty, in the

Mr. Grey, absent in the country. Little was said about this secession by Ministers or by themselves.

Division at 12 o'clock. For it, 175; against it, 50.

15*th.* — House of Commons. Mr. Tierney's motion for an address upon the improper increase of patronage and expense by the divisions of the State officers into three departments. Negatived without a division, or even a speech from anybody but Mr. Tierney, in support of the motion.

17*th.* — Went at three to Mr. Pitt's upon the assessed taxes, according to a letter of invitation. There were present the Attorney and Solicitor-General, Steele, Ryder, Rose, Long*, Sargent, Hawkins Browne, Douglas, Yorke, Lord Carysfort, Elford, Bragge, Perceval, Serjeant Adair, Burdon, and Shaw Lefevre. Mr. Pitt stated to us the outline of his proposed alterations and modifications; stating his own most sincere opinion that, as matters now stood, it was absolutely and indispensably necessary to carry through such a measure for raising a considerable part of the supplies within the year. Its computed produce he now put at 5,000,000*l.* We came away, after some desultory conversation, at 5 o'clock.

18*th.* — In consequence of a message from Mr. Way, I called upon him, and the subject of his conversation was the patronage and grants under the Chief Justices according to Stat. 6 Edw. VI. 6.

House of Commons. Committee on Assessed Taxes Bill. For Speaker's leaving the chair, 174; against it, 19.

19*th.* — At eight went to the House of Commons, when the House was called over and went to St. Paul's.†

existing circumstances, to support that measure; he offered at once to resign his seat for Helston, but to that the Duke would not consent; and the correspondence terminated by his leaving Mr. Abbot entirely free to follow his own judgment for the future in all matters that should be brought before Parliament. The whole correspondence is given at the end of this year.

* Afterwards Lord Farnborough.

† The occasion was that of a general thanksgiving having been appointed on this day "for the several victories obtained by His Majesty's fleets." The King, the Royal Family, both Houses of Parliament, the Foreign Ministers, and a great number of naval officers who had been present in the different battles, went in procession from Palace-yard to St. Paul's, and returned in the same order.

Returned at half-past three. The King well received everywhere: Mr. Pitt not ill received.

A beautifully bright and mild day. Many of the window sashes were taken out from the houses in the Strand and Fleet Street for the spectators to see the procession. No accident anywhere. In the church the presenting the French, Spanish, and Dutch flags had a remarkably impressive effect upon the whole assembly of persons.

20*th*. — Went to the levee. The King talked to me about the rank and habit of King's Serjeants, &c.

House of Commons. Went through part of the Assessed Tax Bill in a Committee.

21*st*. — House of Commons. Further progress of Assessed Tax Bill in Committee.

22*nd*. — The Speaker desired me to move a resolution respecting the Private Acts, so as to make it optional in the parties to pay for the printing, and have their Acts made Public. I moved it accordingly, and carried it to the Lords for their concurrence.

The House in a Committee went through the rest of the Assessed Tax Bill, and rose at twelve. Several divisions on the clauses of relief to particular clauses.

N. B. The American Congress use Hatsell's book as authority for their proceedings.

28*th*. — I reported that I left with the Lords our resolutions about Private Bills. The House of Commons went into consideration of report of the Bill for increasing the Assessed Taxes. Rose at twelve.

Copies of Correspondence between the Duke of Leeds and Mr. Abbot, on the offer made by the latter to resign his seat in Parliament, in consequence of his differing from the Duke on the question of the increase of the Assessed Taxes.

North Mims, Dec. 13th, 1707.

Dear Sir,—Although convinced of the necessity of raising very large supplies under our present difficulties, I disapprove so extremely of the very oppressive, as well as vexatious, project brought forward by Mr. Pitt, who surely might have devised

some other means far less liable to objection, and infinitely more productive, that I could wish no person in Parliament whom I have the honour to be connected with, should give it their support.

I understand many friends of Mr. Pitt have endeavoured to persuade him (though in vain) to give it up; but that he thinks himself personally committed upon the event, and therefore, *coûte qui coûte*, it is to be crammed down our throats.

Ever, my dear Sir, affectionately yours, LEEDS.

C. Abbot, Esq.

North Mims, Dec. 31st, 1797.

My Lord,—Undoubtedly the measure for increasing the Assessed Taxes must bear very heavily on everybody; but I have the satisfaction to inform your Grace that, in the debate of last night, it was declared that great alterations are to be made in the Bill when it is in Committee, and such as, it is hoped, will remove the main objections to its present tendency.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Grace's most faithful Servant, C. ABBOT.

Pall Mall, Jan. 2nd, 1798.

Dear Sir,—Notwithstanding the several alterations made in the *Increased* Assessment Bill by the Committee, the same serious objections to its principle still remain in my mind, that I ventured to mention to you in an earlier stage of its progress through the House of Commons.

I still consider it as an oppressive and vexatious measure, notwithstanding the several modifications it has undergone; its oppressive operation has indeed very properly been removed from certain objects, and has fallen with increased weight on others, certainly more able to bear it without absolute destruction; but for its vexation when carried into effect, that still retains its original force unabated, though not quite undisguised, as it, in many instances, is introduced under the specious name of relief.

Such being my opinion of this (in my mind) ill-judged, impolitic, and violent measure, it must be needless to point out the conduct I most certainly wish any parliamentary friend of mine to adopt, with respect to such a Bill passing into a law: at all events, I flatter myself with the hopes that you, my dear Sir, will not think it necessary to support it with your vote any further.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Your very affectionate and faithful Servant, LEEDS.

C. Abbot, Esq.

North Mims, Jan. 4th, 1798.

My dear Lord,—In consequence of your Grace's former letter upon the subject of the Increased Assessment Bill, I have not failed to bestow the fullest and most anxious attention upon the principle of the measure itself, and upon the successive modifications which the Bill has received in its progress through the Committee, and upon the Report; and, after all its mitigations, nobody can be more thoroughly aware than I am, that it must still press with great weight indeed upon the middle and higher classes of men in this country. But in this present contest for our very existence as an independent nation, which our enemies have now declared to be the sole issue of this war, I am deeply persuaded that the sacrifices which we have yet to make on our part for our defence must also be great indeed. And having no other mode of raising the supplies proposed as an alternative for my choice, I should think, according to the most deliberate judgment which I have been able to form upon a reiterated consideration of this question (erroneously very probably, but certainly with the strictest sincerity) that I should be wanting to my public duty if I withheld my assent from the further progress of the Bill.

In forming this opinion, I assure your Grace most unaffectedly, that after the long and great kindness which I have experienced from your Grace's friendship, it has been with real regret that I have found myself under the necessity of thinking differently from yourself upon a political measure of such magnitude. And I should have been infinitely gratified if I had been able to bring my mind to the same conclusions.

Circumstanced nevertheless as I feel myself, your Grace, I am certain, would be the first to be surprised, if my conduct and opinions were formed at variance with each other upon subjects of the greatest public importance and in times of the greatest public difficulty.

Should your Grace, however, think it more expedient that in future the political sentiments of your parliamentary friends should be similar to your own, I hope that no personal consideration of goodwill towards me will prevent you from exercising a discretion upon what your Grace alone is competent to decide. And, in any event, I assure you that the remembrance of your uniform kindness will continue to attach me most sincerely to the personal interests of your Grace, and of every branch of your family.

I have the honour to be ever, with the greatest respect,
Your Grace's most obliged and faithful Servant,

C. ABBOT.

The Duke of Leeds.

North Mims, Jan. 4th, 1798.

Dear Sir,—Although I must confess myself both disappointed and hurt at the contents of your letter of the 2nd inst., I cannot but acknowledge the very polite and friendly manner in which they are expressed.

Admitting to the utmost extent the necessity of raising large supplies to meet the formidable difficulties we have to encounter, I still disapprove of the specific measure in question, as being oppressive and vexatious, inconsistent with sound policy, and not even justified by necessity.

Such being the sentiments I entertain of the increased Assessment Bill, and having communicated them to those friends in Parliament with whom I flattered myself I was politically as well as personally connected, I certainly entertained a hope that they might think their attendance no longer necessary during the remainder of its progress through their House of Parliament; and I was the more sanguine in this expectation as I did not recollect that either of them had taken any part in the debates which took place, either in the former part of its discussion, or while in Committee.

It certainly must be highly desirable to every person that the political sentiments of their Parliamentary friends should correspond with their own, otherwise I do not see of what use Parliamentary interest can be; and surely there might be found many objects more worth the trouble and expense of procuring such interest, if affording no influence over the conduct of friends of that description.

I must desire you not to think of retiring at present, but that you will be convinced of the continuance of that sincere personal esteem and regard to which you have long been justly entitled, and of the little probability there is of your being in future troubled on any political subject, by him who will ever remain,

Dear Sir, your very faithful and affectionate friend,

LEEDS.

C. Abbot, Esq.

Pall Mall, Jan. 5th, 1798.

My Lord,—I have the honour this morning of receiving your Grace's letter of yesterday, communicating to me your Grace's sentiments upon the influence of your Parliamentary interest over the conduct of your Parliamentary friends, which certainly I have no right to controvert. But such being their tenour, although your Grace is pleased to desire that I will *not* think of retiring *at present*, yet your Grace must pardon me for thinking it absolutely necessary under these circumstances that I should

retire *now*. And I cannot but persuade myself that your Grace will, upon reflection, think me justified in this determination, when I recollect the footing upon which I originally accepted the honour of being introduced to my present seat; evinced still more plainly by the circumstances which occurred on the first great question that arose after I was returned to the House of Commons; and which, I had every reason to believe, were not unsatisfactory to your Grace's sentiments respecting the mode of conduct which I was at liberty to pursue, although in the particular instance it had the misfortune to differ from your own.

I am sure that I shall also be pardoned for proceeding to call to your Grace's recollection as a justification of my continuing to hold the same opinions, that, previous to the general election in 1796, with your Grace's approbation, I actually declined the offer of another seat in Parliament for my own native town, where my political conduct was left to my own free choice.

Such, therefore, being my principles upon the subject, which upon these grounds I had understood also to have your Grace's concurrence, I am persuaded that, in consequence of the intimation now given to me, I ought not, in justice to myself or to your Grace, to delay quitting my present situation. And I do *now* consider myself as having actually resigned it, postponing my application for the Chiltern Hundreds, only till I can hear from your Grace at what time it would be most convenient to your own arrangements that the election should be brought on.

The present difference which I have to lament between your Grace's sentiments and my own, not resting, as I apprehend, upon any question of general politics, but upon the precise tenure of the seat, perhaps it might be unnecessary for me to explain myself in any respect on that subject. Lest, however, your Grace should include any such considerations in your present determination, I think I owe it to your Grace to state explicitly, that no personal attachment to those who are now in Administration, nor any personal disinclination to those who oppose them, has at any time governed my conduct in Parliament: but the settled opinion that the general system of the present Government is that alone by which the safety of the country (however dearly bought) can be maintained. And the language and conduct of the present Opposition, made plainer from day to day, threaten the utmost danger to all orders of the State, and to the genuine liberties of the British Constitution, leaving me no hesitation as to the public part to be taken, whatever be the last issue, and come it whenever it may.

Upon any other subject I should think myself under the

necessity of making great apologies to your Grace for the length of this letter; and, as I can most entirely distinguish between the political difference which I have now many causes for regretting, and your Grace's private and personal kindness for me, I beg leave to assure your Grace that I remain most unfeignedly and unalterably,

My Lord, your Grace's very faithful servant, C. ABBOT.

The Duke of Leeds.

North Mims, Jan. 9th, 1798.

Dear Sir,—I cannot but apprehend from the marked distinction between the words "*not at present*" and "*now*," in your letter of the 5th, that you have put a different sense on a passage in mine of the 4th, than that it was meant to convey.

"I must desire you not to think of retiring at present," were, if I mistake not, the very words I made use of; expressing (as I meant) a wish not only to deprecate the *act* of vacating your seat, but the very *idea* of such a step as the result of what had passed between us in respect to the Bill in question; and in the latter part of that letter I assure you of the little probability of my hereafter troubling you on political subjects; and, of course, your Parliamentary conduct being hereafter to be considered as totally free from any interference whatever on my part.

I cannot add a word more to what I stated respecting Parliamentary connections; my position on that subject I thought could admit of no exception, unless such as might arise from special circumstances by no means applicable to the present question.

I perfectly remember our taking different lines on the Sedition Bill, which I was sorry for; but I also recollect our having a good-humoured conversation on the subject, in which I mentioned my forgiving your *vote* for the sake of your *speech;* in which, you may recollect, you had very ably attacked one of Fox's ill-judged (to say no worse of it) assertions. I confess I cannot recollect any special condition or engagement whatever being entered into on your first Election for Helston; but perfectly remember your declining Abingdon in favour of your former seat, at the General Election in 1796; a preference which I thought highly flattering; I likewise remember with gratitude, the obliging offer which you, my dear sir, and Mr. Richards made, of vacating your seats if desirable, on my son's account.

I cannot but regret your supposing such a step expedient in consequence of what has recently passed: of this, however, you alone are competent to decide; and I cannot but reflect with

real concern that a mere misunderstanding (in the strictest sense of the word) should be likely to produce an effect which a much more serious difference could (in my mind) alone have justified.

At all events, however, I shall remain unalterably, dear Sir,

Your very faithful and affectionate friend, LEEDS.

C. Abbot, Esq.

Wimpole, Jan. 14th, 1798.

My Lord,—My absence from London and the interruption of the post have delayed my answering your Grace's last letter and acknowledging the very obliging terms in which it is expressed.

I am happy to find that, although my parliamentary conduct may have occasionally differed from that which would have had more of your Grace's approbation, yet your Grace does not conceive that there has been on my part any breach of engagement or condition expressed, implied, or understood. And, as it appears to be your wish that I should continue in my present seat, and, as I suppose, there cannot now remain any doubt in your Grace's mind of my determination not to sit in Parliament without the perfect liberty of regulating my public conduct by my own judgment alone, I shall certainly have the sincerest satisfaction in owing my place there to your Grace's friendship and good offices.

If, however, any thing should have yet occurred which may induce your Grace to prefer that I should vacate the seat, for your disposal to any other person under any circumstances, your Grace, upon the present occasion, will have only to intimate your desire in a single line, and I shall readily and instantly take my part accordingly.

Permit me to assure you, that in every situation of life I shall be anxious to testify the sincere respect and attachment with which I have the honour to be, My Lord,

Your Grace's obliged and faithful Servant, C. ABBOT.

The Duke of Leeds.

North Mims, Jan. 17th, 1798.

Dear Sir,—I was favoured with yours of the 14th, from Wimpole, yesterday morning, and am happy to find that neither the public nor your immediate constituents are likely to be deprived of your services at so important a moment as the present, in consequence of what has passed between us on the subject of the Increased Assessment Bill.

Nothing could be further from my thoughts than the least

suspicion that you could at any time be capable of a breach of engagement or condition, whatever, or however expressed. What the nature of our parliamentary connection might in my own opinion imply, and in whatever light I may have understood it, it is now needless to discuss.

Your determination not to sit in Parliament without the perfect liberty of regulating your public conduct by your own judgment alone, is highly honourable; and I can only wish your example were more generally followed in both houses.

I cannot however but flatter myself that, from my letter of the 4th inst., you are already sufficiently convinced of my not troubling you in future on political subjects, even supposing you had adopted a less decisive line of conduct. You will, I trust, accept my best acknowledgments for your polite offer to accommodate my wishes respecting any other person, or any other circumstances; but, on the present occasion, I have nothing to trouble you with on that subject.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Your very faithful and affectionate Servant, LEEDS.

C. Abbot, Esq.

CHAP. VIII.

1798.

VOLUNTARY CONTRIBUTION FUND. — REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE. — RETURNS OF THE EMOLUMENTS OF OFFICE FROM THE JUDGES, ETC. — PROPRIETY OF DEMANDING SUCH RETURNS DOUBTED, BUT ESTABLISHED. — SUGGESTIONS FOR AMENDMENTS IN THE CUSTOMS OFFICE BILL.

WEDNESDAY, January 3rd. — House of Commons. Debate on the third reading of the Assessed Tax Bill. At half-past eleven, Mr. Pitt moved to adjourn the debate. Sixteen or seventeen persons had spoken, but none of the leaders on either side.

4th. — The adjourned debate was resumed, and at half-past four in the morning the House divided upon the third reading. Ayes, 202; noes, 75.

Mr. Fox spoke from half-past eleven till three in the morning. Mr. Pitt from three till four.

5th. — Wickham fixed as Under Secretary to the Duke of Portland in the Home Department.

23rd. — Went to the Bank and subscribed for 500*l.* in the book for "Voluntary Contributions and Assessed Taxes," payable in six instalments at the same periods as the Increased Assessment imposed by the Act.* Mr. Newland, the Cashier, by his language and demeanour, very much discountenanced the whole proceeding. He stated the amount of all the moneys subscribed (either

* The "Voluntary Contribution Fund" was set on foot in consequence, apparently, of Mr. Addington's suggestion (mentioned above, Dec. 4th), by the Lord Chancellor, Lord Romney, Lord Kenyon, and other supporters of Mr. Pitt, who, with the Minister himself, subscribed 2000*l.* a year. The King subscribed one-third of his Privy purse, or 20,000*l.* a year as long as the war lasted. At the end of this year Mr. Pitt announced in the House of Commons that the entire sum thus contributed would amount to 2,000,000*l.* But the contribution, as well as the increase of the Assessed Taxes, were both discontinued at the end of 1799, being superseded by the Income Tax. — See *Life of Lord Sidmouth*, vol. i. p. 198.

as contribution or payment by anticipation), in all the books, to be at this time about 85,000*l*., but not 90,000*l*. In my subscription, my meaning was to charge myself with a fair fifth of my net disposable income:

1. Because having voted for imposing one-tenth upon others, I was willing to prove my own opinion of the propriety of the measure by my own conduct.

2. As a professional man holding a public office, I thought such an example and tribute the more proper.

3. As having already recommended and being likely to have occasion to recommend again for the Finance Committee the regulation and suppression of offices, such a conduct on my part seemed to be more peculiarly necessary.

25*th*. — I went to the Speaker to relate to him the discouragement shown at the Bank to the voluntary contribution. Lord Bridport came in while we were talking about it, and afterwards Mr. Pitt.

26*th*. — Saw the Speaker. It was to mention to me the King's intended subscription of 20,000*l*. a year, viz. one third of his privy purse during the war; that the King had no savings whatever; that even this sum would now be borrowed; and that the Hanoverian savings were an absolute trust for the Electorate. After the particular differences in Parliament upon the measure of opening voluntary subscriptions, it was not difficult to understand that there might have been subsequent differences in the Cabinet; that Lord Grenville had subscribed, but with ill will; that the Speaker meant even on the birthday (if the King had given him the opportunity) to mention the subject; that Mr. Pitt had at length written on Monday last; and that on the preceding evening he had received the King's answer, couched in the handsomest terms; that the measure would now be carried on with spirit; the Duke of Gloucester had only waited for the King. The Bank Directors would call a meeting of the Proprietors to subscribe a part of their stock. The Corporation of London would contribute. A general plan for receiving

contributions would be adopted all over the kingdom, and even in the West and East Indies; which at present paid nothing by taxation towards the expenses of the Empire and its establishment.

Mr. Pitt was dining alone with the Speaker when the King's letter came, and with Mr. Pitt's approbation the Speaker had written his note to me. He had not yet mentioned the matter to any body but Bragge. A Treasury minute would be made to-day, and communicated to the Bank. Mr. Pitt had shown him a letter from the Marquis of Buckingham, fifteen years ago, stating "that his conscience would not suffer him to profit by the increased emoluments of his tellership so far as they derived their increase from the extraordinary amount of the public expenditure."

Mr. Pitt thought that he had perhaps too far maintained the Marquis of Buckingham's strict right to the unlimited profits of this office; and that it must be altered. I related to the Speaker the substance of a conversation which I had had with the Archbishop of Canterbury on the subject of the assessed taxes, and the voluntary contribution. The Speaker said that his own reason for making 2000*l.* the measure of his subscription was that it amounted to about the sum which Parliament had given him out of the Consolidated Fund, in addition to the former profits of his Speakership. That in fact it was more than one-fifth of his income; but that the strict fifth would have carried too much the appearance of minute calculation. He spoke of my contribution as one of the handsomest things that had been done, and I stated to him upon what footing I had thought it a proper step for me.

He wished to see the Jacobin "list of the majority upon the Assessed Tax Bill; with their reasons."

When I went to Westminster Hall I wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury to acquaint him of the King's intention.

Sunday, Feb. 4th.—Mr. Poole called upon me to mention Mr. Colquhoun's idea of a Board of Police Revenue,

to be constituted by a union of the Hackney Coach Office, and Hawkers'. and Pedlars' Office, engrafting upon it such other regulations of Police as might become a productive source of revenue.

Colonel Henries mentioned to me his intention of proposing an auxiliary body of Infantry to be attached to our Light Horse Volunteers, and to make a joint Legion. He also (in a long and warm conversation, to which Phelps of the L.H.V. was a party) agreed to the propriety of declaring against the proposal of any alienation of the funds of the Corps for any public purpose foreign to the Institution. And also against any individual subscription of sums to be given upon any occasion in the name or on account of the Corps.

8th. — Mr. Pitt moved to refer the Finance Report to a Committee on Monday se'nnight; having previously asked me whether that day would suit me. I mentioned that there were several departments to which the Treasury had written, but from which they had received no answer when their last account of the proceedings were printed; I also inquired whether he had any special instructions to propose, or object to point out; but he said "those which we had suggested as unexamined; and the same line of inquiry would be as proper as any, and we should have half an hour's conversation to go through the office point by point, as to what had been done."

20th. — At a quarter past twelve, went to Mr. Pitt by appointment; he went through my summary of all the measures recommended by the Committee, article by article, noticing the consequent measures taken by the Treasury, or the reasons against their adoption. At the end of this he agreed in the propriety of our proceeding upon the particular departments pointed out in my report for further consideration. He agreed also in the utility of having another annual account of the total revenues. (like Irving's table in the 4th report), and an annual account of the increase and diminution of establishments. He suggested also the

propriety of a report during the session, of the addition to the public debt; and another report stating historically how far the report of the preceding session had been carried into execution.

Upon this latter point he suggested the convenience of such a report as Mr. Rose had formerly laid before the Committee. I stated, in answer to this, my objections to present to Parliament a report which was not our report, when we were responsible for it. And the particular omission of the reduction of the bank allowance in 1786, whereby 24,000*l.* a year had been saved to the public.

21*st.*—In the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt, without preface, went into the Committee upon the Finance Report, and moved for leave to bring in *one Bill* for the suppression of the vacant patent offices in the *Customs*, and the providing a Superannuation Fund; postponing any regulation respecting the fees of the outdoor offices: *a second Bill* for abolishing Holydays in several departments; and *a third* for transferring the Salt office to the Excise, and *a fourth* for expediting the collection of the Land and Assessed Taxes in Scotland. He postponed any Bill for the transferring the Hawkers' and Pedlars' and Hackney Coach offices to other revenue Departments; it having been recently suggested to him that some new arrangement might be proper with respect to these offices, by superadding other regulations of a similar nature connected with matters of police, and not with a view to the production of Revenue.

He also moved to revive the Committee, and suggested that after these Bills and others which it might be found necessary to superadd, were carried into laws; and, after such other communications should be made to the House as were in train respecting the measures taking by the Executive Government, he should propose to refer it to the Finance Committee to report on the whole matter how far their recommendation had been carried into effect, and how far they were satisfied

with the objections stated to such as it might be thought expedient not to carry into effect.

He proposed also that, as the reports themselves which the diligence of the Committee had already prepared, were voluminous, and the communications of the Executive Government were as yet incomplete, that the Committee of the whole House should be kept open, until gentlemen had an opportunity of making themselves masters of the whole subject; when the discussion, if any was desired, would be more conveniently taken up. Accordingly the Committee of the whole House was adjourned to Monday se'nnight.

In the House, Mr. Pitt having desired my leave to have my MSS. observations, &c. copied, I had assented to it; but preferring afterwards to have them copied under my own eye, and to prevent them passing into strange hands, I wrote to Mr. Pitt, promising, without loss of time, to send him a copy of the papers instead of the originals, in which he willingly acquiesced.

22*nd.*—In the Finance Committee I was again called to the chair, and we made orders for returns from the Privy Council Office, the Privy Seal Office, the Mint, the Stationery Office, Chelsea Hospital, Greenwich Hospital, the Crown Lands, the Crown Woods and Forests, according to a general form of return, which I had prepared for the purpose.

23*rd.*—Finance Committee. Made orders for returns respecting Police Offices, Criminal Prisoners, Convicts within Great Britain, Convicts abroad.

24*th.* — Westminster meeting at the Thatched House Tavern. Present, Archbishop of York, Bishop of Exeter, Bishop of Carlisle, Bishop of Rochester. The Lord Chief Baron, Mr. Baron Hotham, Sir W. Dolben, Lord Amherst, Lord Kinnoul, and others.

26*th.*—Saw the Speaker upon the subject of the proposed addition to our Committee; and upon the propriety of our Committee entering upon the Civil List and Courts of Westminster Hall.

N.B. No addition was *ever* made; though parti-

cular persons were frequently moved as intended to be added.

In the Committee ordered Naval Accounts.

Thursday, March 8th.—Saw the Speaker upon the subject of the Civil List, and precedents of cases in which the House of Commons interposed without previous message from the Crown, viz. 1701, 5th May and 23rd May, and 1780, April 6th, &c. Also upon inquiries into Courts of Justice, and Duchy of Lancaster. Also on the new Land Tax plan.

Mr. Gibbes's appeal against the order for suspending him from his seat in the Council of Barbadoes, was heard in the Privy Council before the Lord President (Lord Chatham), the Chancellor, Duke of Portland, and Chief Justice Eyre, and was argued for Mr. Gibbes by Grant and Perceval. The result not made known, it being customary first for the Privy Council to report to the King.

Nepean, Secretary to the Admiralty, told me that the measure of seizing the French fishingboats was known upon the coast of France even before the order had been signed by the Secretary of State for the War Department, to be sent to the Admiralty.

13th.—Spoke to Way and Forster upon the subject of the inquiries by the Finance Committee. Saw Richards at night on the same subject. Consulted Burton also.

15th.—In the Finance Committee, issued orders for accounts of the salary and emoluments of the Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, the Chief Justices of the different courts; and examined the Deputy Custos Brev. of the Common Pleas, the Secondary of the King's Bench, &c. &c.

21st.—Saw Mr. Secretary Dundas upon the subject of the Signet Office.

22nd.—At twelve I went to Chief Justice Eyre. I assured him that (talking with him upon the same footing of private acquaintance as he had used to me) there could be no wish more strongly impressed upon the Committee than the desire of maintaining the respect

due to the Judges, consistently with the discharge of their duty to the public. We went over various points, and we particularly mentioned the *Error Office* as that from which he derived about 500*l.* a year: and the Chief Justice of King's Bench, he supposed, about 1500*l.* a year, "for which to be sure there was nothing to be said." I mentioned to him that, consistently with all that we had hitherto proposed in the way of Reform, we were not likely to propose any measure prejudicial to the present rights of possession or patronage belonging to persons now in office. He was to see the Chancellor by appointment at three.

Accidentally I met the Speaker at one, rode with him, and discussed all the points; and in conclusion he quite agreed to the propriety of my opinions and conduct.

In the evening, at the Ancient Concerts, Eyre said the Chancellor was piqued; that he foresaw an entanglement; he doubted the propriety of calling upon Peers in the form practised by the Committee. He also asked if we were apprised of the Commission, &c. in 1733.

22*nd.*—Called on the Speaker, and heard all the same points we discussed between him and the Chancellor, and the propriety of my conduct as Chairman in proceeding in that personal communication to the Chancellor, &c., vindicated by the Speaker. Mr. Pitt had been spoken to by the Chancellor, but was clear with the Committee, and sturdy in his opinion of their right. I satisfied the Speaker of the propriety and formality of our proceeding. See 3 Hatsell, 2nd Ed. p. 7, and Lord's Journals, 30th March, 1608.

Memoranda. Upon the right of the Committee to inquire into *Courts of Justice*, under the concluding instructions given to them:

1. The general *spirit* of the instructions for inquiry into expenditure and reductions.

2. The precise *letter*, viz. Salaries and Emoluments of Public Officers. Are not officers in courts of justice *public?*

3. As to the inquiry being directed to any increase

or diminution since 1782. If it be supposed that this by implication restrains the inquiry to such offices alone as were then inquired into, viz. by Commissioners of Account and Inquiry.

Contra. 1. There was no inquiry dated 1782; for the Commission of Accounts was erected 1780, and the Commission of Inquiry 1786.

2. The debate upon which the Committee was opposed did not proceed upon any reference to them; and the only specific instance was "Barracks." N.B. Mr. Harrison says he mentioned "Lord Stormont's lucrative office."

3. The only reference to those Commissioners was by the Finance Committee itself; which in the Fourth Report expressly says, "They conceive *all* public offices to be within their instructions." In their Fourteenth Report they say they *begin* their inquiries *with such* only as have been previously examined, &c.; and in enumerating those which for want of time they have not inquired into, they distinctly specify "Many other public departments not reported upon by the Commission of Accounts or of Inquiry, namely, the Privy Council Office, &c. &c., the Courts of Westminster Hall, and the Civil Government of Scotland, &c. &c."

The Committee was revived in Feb. 1798, for the *express purpose* (as asked and admitted, and stated repeatedly) of inquiring into those departments which the Committee itself had stated itself to have stopped short of only for want of time. (See my conversation of Feb. 8th with Mr. Pitt.)

At Lady Harewood's Lord Auckland spoke to me against the power and propriety of the Committee proceeding to inquire into Greenwich Hospital.

25*th*.—Went to the Speaker by appointment. He told me the Chancellor had agreed to write to me; and the Speaker settled it with me that if it was urged I might state to the Committee that objections had been raised to the expediency of the inquiry into Courts of Justice; and by several Members of the House even to

the *competency* of the Committee upon this subject under its present powers; and I might propose to the Committee to apply to the House for information and directions how to proceed; as being desirous to fulfil our duty, but not to exceed the limits of that authority which it was intended to give us.

26*th*.—In the Committee, Yorke and Carew objected and doubted about the propriety of our proceeding upon Courts of Justice, and suggested that there was a disposition not to comply with our wishes. I dined at Wickham's; and in the evening, upon reflecting that these objections were such as required immediate attention on the part of the Committee, I wrote to the nine attending members to say that I should the next day submit to their consideration a point respecting our future proceedings.

27*th*.—Eight attended; Bankes* being engaged in the Prisoners of War Committee. I stated the impropriety of the Committee proceeding if they had doubts, without resolving those doubts by applying to the House for directions. Yorke opposed it as premature; because no refusal was as yet made; and if any were made we might think proper not to enforce our order; or even if a return were made we might not think fit to report upon the subject. Carew opposed it, because he thought the whole inquiry improper, and wished to get rid of it by letting the matter drop in Committee. Ryder opposed it, on doubts, both as to the propriety of the inquiry and the propriety of applying to the House, and wished precedents to be searched for. The rest of the Committee thought the inquiry proper, but that it was yet too early to suppose that there would be any refusal to obey our orders.

Adjourned the consideration of this matter indefi-

* "At Westminster School began that friendship between Bankes and myself which has lasted uninterruptedly to this time. During my professional years there was necessarily a less frequent intercourse; but from the time of my entering Parliament it has never slackened, and I owe to his steady affection many very important services in support and vindication of my conduct officially and personally."—C. A. 1817.

nitely; leaving it open to resume the discussion whenever fresh cause arose.

In the evening I wrote to the Speaker an account of what had passed.

28*th*.—Lord Auckland came to me by appointment, upon the subject of Greenwich Hospital. He objected to the propriety of our inquiry, but read to me a general statement of the Constitution, and particulars of the establishment and its administration, which he proposed to complete with any further particulars which I would suggest. Lord Auckland desired me, on the part of the Chancellor, to speak to him on the Courts of Justice, &c.

In the Committee we made orders to call for returns to most of our original orders issued in February.

In the House of Lords, I went to the Chancellor on the Woolsack, and told him that I understood from Lord Auckland that he wished to speak with me. He desired to see me at his house in the evening. I went accordingly; he received me very civilly. He said he wished to speak with me upon the subject of our orders, which he had taken upon a common cause, on account of his situation, and particularly from his having nothing in his own instance to conceal from the public eye; but that he was afraid we should not be masters in the Committee of all the consequences of our own inquiry, and that the public, which had hitherto considered the Courts of Justice with respect, would be led to suppose abuses, and to treat them with disparagement; that all the details would be laid open to the public eye, which would begin to speculate upon points to which the Committee itself did not advert, or mean to attempt any charge, &c. &c. He admitted and illustrated a variety of existing defects in the present constitution of the courts, and particularly in Chancery; he discoursed at large upon the decline and rise of business in the different branches of judicature during the present century. He went into the whole history of the Registrarship in Chancery, and the Duke of St.

Albans' right. He mentioned that the present payment was only 800*l.* a year to the Duke [N.B. It is 640*l.*]; and instanced this as a falling off in the quantity of business, it not being very probable that Charles II. would have the right of giving 800*l.* a year to Nell Gwynne, or that she would have accepted of such an insignificant bounty. He spoke of the strange state of the office of the Custos Brevium, when he was Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, when one of the patentees was a woman, another a Catholic, another a lunatic, and the fourth an infant. He referred to the proceedings upon the Address of the House of Commons in 1732, and the subsequent commission, and particularly urged a review (if any) by commission as the fittest; and pressed that if the Committee were to end with proposing or causing a commission, the matter might as well begin with a commission.

He mentioned also his own attempt to have bought out the right of the Duke of St. Albans with Chancery money, for the sake of improving the situation of the * Registers, but that it failed, the Duke's right being mortgaged. The Chancellor also said that he had to-day heard from the Lord-President of the Court of Session in Scotland, who wished to know what he was to do; for, except the judge who had salaries and no fees, all the rest of the court was of officers, not paid by the public, but deriving their emoluments from their own earnings; and that in England, where offices were held as freeholds, the officer might allege that tenure, and refuse to answer as to his profits.

To this I replied: Undoubtedly such a return might be made, and in such a case it would also be for Parliament to decide whether it chose to desist from its inquiry. To all the abuses, &c., I said little; and nothing at all to controvert their existence. I stated our object to be the examination of the establishments in the Courts of Justice, with a view to apply the same

* Word illegible in MS.

maxims of state economy as in other departments, viz. where ancient offices appeared by lapse of time and altered modes of business to have become pure sinecures, to propose that (without disturbance to any present right of possession or patronage), a plan should be provided for gradually doing them away, and converting the profits of such offices into a saving to the public, either (in case of the suitor) by abolishing the fees, or by applying the amount to supply the present inadequacy of payment to the Puisné Judges, and other efficient officers, which might appear at present to be underpaid; or even to establish a superannuation fund, which might render it unnecessary to apply to Parliament when the cases were proper for affording a retreat from the duties of active employment.

His remark upon this was that the Committee could not do these things or ensure them, and that in the meantime such places as Lord Mansfield's, in the King's Bench, might be looked at by the public with a very different purpose. He mentioned that he had but a few minutes' conversation with Mr. Pitt on the subject many days ago, at Lord Grenville's office. That he had recently seen Mr. John Yorke on the subject (viz. Patentee Clerk of the Crown), and that he understood Mr. Carew, his son-in-law, and Mr. Charles Yorke, his nephew, had opposed the inquiry, and that Mr. Ryder had doubted.

N.B. The Chancellor said we had a right to look into the Hanaper and Crown Offices, as really not being parcel of the Court of Chancery. (*Note.*—These are the very places which Mr. John Yorke now holds.)

My answer to all this was, that "we did not publish our debates, but that certainly any such objections by these persons were very recent, as none such had been stated till within these two days, and that the Committee had, notwithstanding these doubts, nevertheless persisted in proceeding upon the inquiry; and that the present situation was this, *that all the orders were now made and issued.*

The Chancellor said he supposed there was no occasion to be precipitate, and that nothing pressed for an immediate answer. That something must be considered of which it would be proper to do, and desired that I would converse with the Speaker on the subject.

This, I said, I would certainly do, and take a very early opportunity for the purpose.

The Chancellor then talked about Mr. Gibbes's affairs, &c., and that the order must be rescinded as it could not possibly stand, and the only question was, if Mr. Gibbes were back or wished to reside and act there, whether Governor Ricketts ought not to be recalled, and that he had desired the Duke of Portland to see General Morshead as to what had passed, &c. &c.

N.B. The Chancellor, after our resolution to report upon the Courts of Justice was enforced, sent for the order of Council upon Mr. Gibbes's affair that it might be settled under his own directions. And the order when made, although it rescinded the order of suspension, contained a parenthesis "(whatever degree of blame might be otherwise imputable to Mr. Gibbes)," or to that effect.

29*th*.—By appointment met the Speaker; related all that had passed on the preceding day with the Chancellor; agreed that for the present we should in the Committee expect returns to our orders, but in the meantime (if new doubts or occurrences made it proper) we should come to the House for further directions.

In the Committee made some revenue orders.

31*st*.—The House sat on the Bill for the Defence of the Country.

Monday, April 2nd.—Mr. Pitt opened his Land Tax Redemption.

3*rd*.—Went to the Speaker, who told me that Mr. Pitt was fixed in his opinion that the Finance Committee should proceed upon the Courts of Justice; that Ryder was a convert to this opinion; that the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas had privately expressed to the Speaker his entire readiness to conform to whatever

was thought expedient, and that Mr. Pitt's wish was that we should come to the House for an explanation upon our objects of inquiry, which he would decidedly maintain to the extent proposed by us. I mentioned my wish to know Mr. Pitt's intentions about certain accounts of revenue, &c., and suggested the time for his making any special instructions upon that subject, for having the other explanation also made. It was agreed that I should see Mr. Pitt upon the whole matter.

Wilberforce's motion on the Slave Trade for leave to bring in a Bill for the abolition within a time to be limited. All the seceders attended, and Mr. Fox spoke. For the motion, 83; against it, 87.

4th.—Went to Mr. Pitt by appointment. He agreed to move the special instructions to the Finance Committee for stating the accounts of Revenue, Debt, and Reduction of Debt, as originally proposed by him at our meeting in February. As to the powers of inquiry into Courts of Justice, he thought that we ought not to come to the House upon any loose surmises, and that, for the present, matters had better rest as they were.

The Speaker, whom I saw before and after this meeting, thought otherwise, and that we had sufficient grounds for stating our situation to the House, and declaring our intention to proceed, unless the House gave us any intimation to the contrary.

In the Committee Rundle Ford came to me individually from the Six Clerks' Office, to express their desire that they might not be considered in contempt for not obeying our order hitherto, as they had been directed by the Lord Chancellor to suspend their return.

The House divided upon the Land Tax Question at eleven. For proceeding to a Committee, 105; against it, 13.

5th.—Adjourned the Committee till after the holydays. Divided the papers between the Members of the Committee.

6th.—General Bentham came from the Admiralty for his papers upon Naval Works; but they being in

the custody of the Committee which was adjourned, the redelivery of them could not be considered.

7th.—At three o'clock in the morning got up to dress and arm for the Light Horse Volunteers. At a quarter before five was at the stables at Worship Street in consequence of orders the day before. At half-past five, the first troop with the colonel and officers of that troop and the adjutant went to the Tower to escort O'Connor* and the other prisoners upon the road towards Maidstone for their trial. The fourth troop remained with the Lieutenant Colonel and its own officers, and went to Gray's Inn Lane to wait for further orders. At half-past nine a file arrived from Colonel Herries with orders to acquaint us that he was proceeding without interruption on his road to meet a relief of the Kentish Yeomanry Cavalry, and that we might be dismissed. At ten I returned home.

12th.—Began to draw first report of the Finance Committee, Second Session. (N.B. Afterwards called 23rd Report.) The subject to be the statement of the Public Revenue of Great Britain for 1797, according to a new arrangement of matter, and in conformity to Mr. Irving's abstract for 1796. Superadding observations upon all new circumstances affecting the branches of revenue reported upon last year, and giving a detailed account of the rest which were not then enumerated or described.

Received a letter from the Lord President of Session in Scotland,* and sent my whole correspondence with him to the Speaker.

14th.—Sent to Mr. Pitt the following letter.

Dear Sir,—As I see that the third reading of the Customs Office Bill stands for Monday next, I have looked into it again, and am satisfied that it will be necessary to move an amend-

* Arthur O'Connor was arrested with others, some of whom were members of the Corresponding Society, on a charge "of holding treasonable correspondence with the French Government." They were acquitted from a deficiency of legal proof, though according to Lord Campbell (*Lives of the Chancellors*, vol. vi. p. 512), it is certain that the charge "was perfectly well-founded."

ment, by inserting the offices of "Customers at the out ports," amongst those which are to be abolished absolutely by the first clause, instead of leaving them to be abolished and regulated anew afterwards by the 2nd and 3rd clauses. That they ought to be abolished absolutely and for ever was the opinion of the Commissioners of Accounts. They say (15th Rep., p. 173),

"The office of Customer is wholly useless: ought in consistency to have been suppressed upon the change introduced into the Customs by the appointment of collectors subsequent to the year 1671, and has been permitted to exist too long by about a century."

And, p. 175: "We have arranged the officers into two classes. The first comprehends the office of Customer, where it is expedient that the whole office should be suppressed, &c. The second contains the Patent Comptrollers and Patent Searchers, where the regulation reaches no further than the sinecure branch of each office, &c."

The present Board of Customs are also of opinion that these customers and their deputies ought to be abolished; and they have accordingly returned a list of 100 officers falling within this class. See 4th Rep. Finance Committee, Appendix, B. 1, p. 40, and C. 1, p. 50.

Knowing the multitude of more important objects with which your attention is occupied I have taken the liberty of recalling this matter to your recollection, which I did point out to your notice in the Committee, and mentioned again to Mr. Rose upon the Report. With these explanations I trust you will see the necessity of this amendment, which I shall think it my duty to move accordingly when the Bill is read a third time, if it is not moved on the part of the Government; which, on many accounts, I should very much prefer. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

C. Abbot.

16*th*.—Finance Committee met again. Rose spoke to me in the House about the Customs Office Bill, and put it off till Wednesday. Sir Wm. Pulteney came to me by appointment about proposed savings in the Naval Service, &c., to the amount of 2,500,000*l*. per annum, and promised to get leave from his friends to communicate to me the particulars.

1. There are many old ships at each port irreparable, but continued for the purpose of receiving certain warrant officers, at a great expense of pay, provisions, moorings, men to look after them, stores, &c.

2. Church ships, slop ships, and hulks of different sorts commanded by commissioned officers and crews, most of them useless.

3. A crowd of gunboats, of little use heretofore; some of them may be so at this time, if properly fitted and commanded, but many are unfit from their construction, and are generally wretchedly manned and commanded.

4. Agents of transports at all the ports in England and many abroad, of no use and much expense; some of them have lately been recalled.

5. Many transports at high freights, permitted to remain unemployed at the Cape (some there have been recalled), Lisbon, West Indies, &c.

6. Armed and hired cutters, an immense number: most of them belonging to Dover, Winchelsea, Sandwich, &c.; half of them have hitherto been of no use.

7. Armed ships at a great expense, and in general unfit either for defence or attack, and bad vessels in all respects.

8. Ships long kept in commission after they were reported unfit for service, or were under great repair.

Army. — A vast expense incurred by removing troops from place to place, and great inconvenience occasioned thereby to the farmers and inhabitants.

Foreign Conquests. — The Cape, and the island of Ceylon have each enormous establishments, which are likely to be even increased. It can be shown as to Ceylon, that it could be kept at an expense of from 60,000*l.* to 80,000*l.*; and the revenue which the Dutch drew from it exceeded that sum very much.

18*th.* — Finance Committee examined Mr. Lewis of the War Office. In the House, Mr. Rose played me tricks about the third reading of the Customs Office Bill.

19*th.* — Finance Committee examined the Comptroller of the Stamp Office. In the House, Mr. Rose attempted to play fresh tricks upon me about the third reading of the Customs Office Bill.

20*th*. — Saw the Speaker upon the subject of the Customs Bill. In the Finance Committee. Examined Admiral Pasley upon measures of retrenchment in the dockyards, and divided upon the question of calling Sir W. Pulteney next. Ayes, 3; noes, 4. The like as to calling Lord Keith. Ayes, 4; noes, 3.

In the House, a message from the King, announcing the embarkation of troops and stores in France, Flanders, and Holland, for the invasion of this country; and calling upon Parliament for measures adequate to the crisis. Sheridan spoke (and professed for Fox in his absence the same sentiments) of present cooperation and service, with and under His Majesty's ministers for the defence of the country — pronounced the strongest invectives against France and French tyranny, barbarity, and perfidy, and exhorted to contributions and arms by all ranks. But he insisted upon the impolicy of military measures against the Irish; and denied the necessity of suspending the Habeas Corpus, but on account of any conspiracies supposed to exist in that country. An unanimous address voted.

Then a message came from the Lords desiring the House to continue sitting. Answer:—That the House would continue sitting according to their Lordships' desire. Then came a message from the Lords with a Bill for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, till the 1st of February next.

It was immediately read a first time.

Upon the motion for reading it a second time there was a division: for it, 189; against it, 5: viz. Sheridan, Bonami, Thompson, Lord John Russell, Lord W. Russell, and the Tellers, Hobhouse and Green.

In the Committee another division upon an amendment to limit the continuation to the 1st of November. For the amendment, 13; against it, 109.

The Bill was then read a third time and passed.

23*rd*. — The Finance Committee examined Lord Keith on retrenchments in the Naval Service. On the

second reading of the Land Tax Bill there was a division. For it, 153; against it, 38.

24*th.*—Finance Committee. Examined Stamp Office people. Yorke and Carew moved to summon the whole Committee for Friday, to consider of the propriety of renewing the orders respecting the Courts of Justice.

25*th.* — Examined Lord Keith in the Finance Committee on the Dockyard retrenchments.

Mr. Pitt opened his budget for 28,400,000*l.* whereof the provision by ways and means was

Land and Malt	£2,750,000
Assessed Taxes	4,500,000
Voluntary Contributions	1,500,000
2½ per Cent. Exports and Imports	1,500,000
	10,250,000
Lottery	200,000
Bank Advance	3,000,000
	13,450,000
Loan	15,000,000
	£28,450,000

Taxes on salt, tea, and armorial bearings, to defray interest on 1,000,000*l.*, and upon a part of Navy Debt Funded.

27*th.* — The Finance Committee being summoned at the instance of Mr. Yorke, to consider of the propriety of renewing the orders to such of the Courts of Justice as had made no return; a division took place. For renewing them, nine; against it, two.

30*th.* — The Honourable John Cochrane came to me by Sir W. Pulteney's desire, to explain a paper of inquiries respecting transport expenditure.

LETTER FROM THE LORD CHANCELLOR TO MR. ABBOT, AS CHAIRMAN OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE, ON THE SUBJECT OF THE EMOLUMENTS OF HIS OFFICE.

April 28th, 1798.

Sir,—An order, signed by you, as Chairman of the Select Committee of Finance, on the 27th, was left at my house this

evening. This paper recites a prior order, dated the 15th of March; and subjoins the following explanation:— "This order is understood by the Committee not to extend to anything which may concern the Office of Speaker of the House of Lords."

From the attention thus expressed to the Privileges of the House of Lords, it is just to conclude that the Committee has no intention to intrench upon them in any manner; and that it must have escaped their attention, that the office of Lord Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal is inseparable from that of Speaker of the House of Lords, constituting one individual office: essentially inherent in that House, whether it is held by a Peer or by a Commoner.

It would ill become me to suppose that the office can admit of any separation, or be detached in any respect from the House of Lords, nor would it be fit for me to overlook the Declaration of that House against the Peers submitting themselves to the Orders of the other House.

I am at the same time averse to the raising a discussion on either of these points, which might unjustly be imputed to a design of avoiding an inquiry which (whether necessary or not) it is my wish to meet, for there can be no secret in the state of the office I have the honour to hold.

From these considerations I have deposited with you, as a person I very much respect, and to be used as you think fit, the state of my office for the last year and the two preceding years, though I can make no return to the Precept of the Select Committee of Finance.

The account is of the sums paid to my use. Of the gross amount, or the deductions to which the fees may be liable in the several offices where they are collected, I have never received nor required information, relying on the known integrity of the officers in each department, that they would neither receive more, nor account for less, than they ought.

Of other deductions beyond that which is retained or paid for the public service, it is impossible to state any estimates; they being subject to no measure, but the disposition of the person who is to support the office.

I am, with great regard, Sir, Your obedient humble Servant,

LOUGHBOROUGH.

The Lord Chancellor's Salary		£5,000
Deduct Land Tax	£550	
Paid at the Exchequer	375	
		925
Nett Salary		4,075

Amount of Fees: — 1797	. .	£5,869 17 11
" 1796	. .	5,779 18 5
" 1795	. .	5,336 18 5
		⅓)16,986 14 9
Amount on three years' average	.	5,662 4 10

Tuesday, May 1st.—In the House of Commons, finding that Mr. Rose had passed the Customs Regulation Bill without the amendments which he had agreed to make, I told him "that I must be excused for saying I could never take his word again for any Parliamentary matter." He insisted first that the amendments were actually *made;* and when he found that they were *not*, he said the Bill *should* be altered in the Lords: and, if necessary, a new Bill should be brought in and passed with the first and second clauses amended as I desired. Query, whether this will be done? (N.B. It was so done afterwards.)

In the evening the Lord Chancellor sent me a letter declining to make a return to the Select Committee of Finance, but enclosing a brief statement of the Salary and Fees of his office. I sent the letter to the Speaker.

At my office, Woodroffe, one of the Prothonotaries of the Court of Common Pleas, came to know what we conceived to be our right for requiring the Law Returns, and I told him the foundation on which the Committee had proceeded.

2nd. — Lord Chief Justice Eyre sent his return. Saw the Speaker this day and also the next morning at nine, about augmenting the Judges' salaries. (N.B. I mentioned this again to the Speaker, Dec. 4th, but nothing was done this year.)

30th. — Lord Kenyon* sent his return to me at my office. Mr. Justice Buller sent his with a letter, and several returns were made to the Committee from Law Officers.

6th. — Sir Sidney Smith returned from France, having made his escape.†

* He was C. J. of the King's Bench.

† Sir Sidney Smith had been taken prisoner by a superior force in April

7*th.* — Finance Committee examined Captain Schanck on the transport service.

8*th.* — Examined General Bentham. Mr. Tierney's motion for inquiring into Lord Onslow's conduct. Ayes, 22; noes, 141.

16*th.* — Finance Committee. The Cursitors, by return under Seal, contended that the Committee are not authorised to require answers to such questions as they had proposed.

17*th.* — Sir Richard Heron called to state to me his readiness to make his return as Treasurer's Remembrancer; and said he would make it this week as it was ready, but *he did not.*

Finance Committee. Read the Report on Sick and Hurt, &c.

18*th.* — The Prothonotaries individually refused to answer to the order of Committee; and two of the Cursitors did the same.

19*th.* — The Committee agreed to a special report upon this refusal.

21*st.* — In the House I presented the special report of the Finance Committee, and moved to have it taken into consideration the next day.

22*nd.* — Mr. Pitt moved to take the special report of the Finance Committee into consideration; and moved a resolution "that the Committee were authorised to require from the Cursitors and Prothonotaries such returns as they had ordered."

25*th.* — House of Commons. Mr. Pitt brought in a Bill to repeal protections from pressing for six months. It passed both Houses the same day, after a debate which produced a duel between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Tierney.*

1796, and by a scandalous violation of the rights of war had been kept prisoner on the simple pretence that he was a spy.

* The pretext for the duel was an expression used by Mr. Pitt in reply. In bringing forward his motion he had justified both the Bill, and his proposal to pass it through all its stages in one day, by the precedent of 1779, when a similar measure had met with complete success. Mr. Tierney had opposed it because it was "brought in without previous notice," and because "he could not see how this celerity was necessary," adding, that "after

Finance Committee. Baker took the papers for Scotland: York for the Dockyards, &c.; and Thornton for the Victualling Office.

29*th.* — The Attorney General told me that Judge Buller was quite overcome by the letter proved upon the trial about the *sternness* of the Judge: and occasioned by the presence and behaviour of Fox, Sheridan, &c. But that *he* should certainly prosecute Lord Thanet, &c.*, for the attempt to rescue.

30*th.* — The Cursitors and Prothonotaries having this day made their returns to the Committee, I acquainted the House and moved to discharge the order for the further consideration of the special report.

some recent transactions that had taken place he should be extremely jealous of every thing the right hon. gentleman proposed to do, and at present he considered him as calling upon the House to surrender the few remaining liberties of the country." Mr. Pitt, in reply said, among other things, that "the hon. gentleman seemed to have something in his mind which it was to be wished that he had spoken out more distinctly, when he said he entertained a jealousy in consequence of some things which had recently taken place;" and after giving reasons which rendered the immediate passing of the Bill necessary, concluded by saying, "If the hon. gentleman therefore meant to oppose the present measure he should conclude that the only motive by which he was actuated was that of impeding the service and defence of the country." On this, Mr. Tierney threw himself on the protection of the Chair. The Speaker said, if Mr. Pitt had used the language of which Mr. Tierney complained, "it certainly was disorderly and unparliamentary. It was, however, for the House to determine whether such was the language or not; and the House would wait for the right hon. gentleman's explanation." Mr. Pitt refused to give any explanation, and maintained that though "he had no right to impute any particular motives to any gentleman, he had a right to *infer* motives from arguments; and therefore, if he was right in saying that no man could be justified in opposing the present measure, and that to oppose it was to impede the defence of the country, it was fair for him to state those arguments, which he believed to be conclusive, and which he would submit to the judgment of the House, but which he would not in the slightest degree retract." And later in the same evening, his language having been commented on by another Member, he said "that he would abide by his words, and would give no explanation." The Speaker interposed no further. The next day Mr. Tierney challenged Mr. Pitt, and on the 27th they fought on Wimbledon Common; Mr. Ryder being Mr. Pitt's second, and Sir G. Walpole Mr. Tierney's.

* After O'Connor was acquitted, he was again arrested in court on a Secretary of State's warrant, and a riot took place through the endeavours of some of his friends to effect a rescue from the officers. Lord Thanet and Mr. Cutlar Fergusson were afterwards prosecuted by the Crown for sharing in this attempt to rescue him, and in spite of all the efforts of their counsel, Mr. Erskine, they were convicted.

Saturday, June 9th. — At dinner the Dean of Raphoe mentioned that *he saw* O'Coigley* once in Ireland, habited as a Roman Catholic Priest, stop a murderer on his way to the gallows, who had *been confessing his guilt;* and after some moments' conversation the man *denied the whole,* and went to his fate protesting his innocence. N.B. So did O'Coigley himself when executed at Maidstone.

10th.—Mr. Irving passed the whole day with me from ten o'clock in the morning till past one o'clock on the Monday morning; except the hour of dinner, from four to eight, we were employed the whole time in settling the 23rd and 24th Reports of the Finance Committee.

11th.—House of Commons upon the motion respecting O'Connor's arrest after his trial.

14th.—Mr. Sheridan's motion upon the state of Ireland. Mr. Baker moved the standing order to be read for excluding strangers; and I concurred in the propriety of enforcing it; *hoping* that it would be done effectually, and declaring that if any representation should be published afterwards of anything that should be supposed to have been said on either side of the House in that debate, it would be treated as a high breach of privilege, and receive the severe animadversion of the House. The debate lasted till half-past twelve. Ayes, for the motion to appoint a Committee, 43; noes, 159.

15th.—No account appeared (either in the morning or evening papers) of the preceding night's debate.—Finance Committee. I read my report on the Courts of Justice.

16th.—Finance Committee. Baker read his report on Civil Government, Scotland.

19th.—Debate on the Militia going to Ireland. Division, 43 to 114.

20th.—The Bill passed. Division, 11—47.

22nd.—Lord George Cavendish's motion on the state

* O'Coigley had been one of those who had been tried at Maidstone with O'Connor. He was the only one who was convicted.

of Ireland. Mr. Fox attended. Debate lasted till half-past four. Division, 66 — 214.

23*rd.* — Finance Committee. Pole Carew read his Police Report.

26*th.* — I presented the reports on: —

23rd. Public Revenue of 1797.
24th. Debt and Expenditure, ditto.
25th. Privy Council Office.
26th. Privy Seal Office.
27th. Courts of Justice.
31st. Admiralty, Dockyards, and Transports.
32nd. Victualling.
35th. Army Expenditure.
30th. Civil Government of Scotland.

27*th.* — I presented the remaining reports upon: —

28th. Police and Convict Establishments.
33rd. Sick and Wounded.
34th. Chatham Chest. Greenwich and Chelsea Hospitals.
29th. Stationery.
30th. Offices of Secretary at War. Judge Advocate-General, and the Military Governments in Great Britain.

28*th.* — Called on the Speaker, and delivered him a list of our reports for the Finance Committee. He desired me to meet Ryder and Douglas at twelve, in his room, at the House, upon a question of single Bill or double Bill, with regard to fees claimed by the officers of the House; and after two hours' examination of the agents and clerks, with respect to the general rule contained in the report and resolutions of 1751, the table of fees and the precedents, as compared with the particular Bill in question, we were clearly and unanimously of opinion that this Bill was within the letter and spirit of the standing orders, such as entitled the officers to their fees as for *three double Bills*. This was a drainage Bill for the East Riding of Yorkshire, with *one clause* enacting that under one set of commissions two distinct drainages should be made, payable out of distinct

funds, and levied upon two different classes of persons. We held this to entitle the officers to fees as for two double Bills. And a precedent of a Scotch Road Bill was produced (a Forfarshire Bill), when for different pieces of road (whereof the expense was defrayed by seven different classes of persons, though under the *same* Commissioners) seven double fees had been paid. Another question arose in one case upon another clause, where for the more effectual draining, and also for the removal of obstructions of the navigation of the Humber, the Corporation of Hull, the Trinity House, and the Dock Company, also were made severally to contribute in different sums to the works directed by the Bill.

The officers claimed a double fee also upon this enacting clause, as for a distinct matter, to which we agreed. It seemed, indeed, that according to the resolution of 1751, the officers might in strictness have demanded a double fee from each of those Corporations; for, though there was but one object for the application of the money, yet each Corporation had a distinct interest in accomplishing it.

29th.—Parliament was prorogued.

Edwards assured me that notwithstanding the taxes, &c., &c., all the prime articles in books, engravings, &c., sold now for as much as, or more than before the war. Pictures during this Spring sold for very large prices; one for 1000*l.*; one for 1400*l.*, &c. &c.

Tuesday, July 24th.—Lord St. Vincent's account of his detachment under Sir Horatio Nelson * was, "that no fleet, either as to condition of ships, quality of crew, or ability of officers ever surpassed this;" and that it "would beat double its numbers, even if the enemies were English."

31st.—Received the following letter from Lord Clifden, and sent it to the Speaker:—

Dublin, July 27th, 1798.

My dear Abbot,—I am very much obliged to you for yours of the 19th. I was meditating a letter to you which I ought to

* That with which Nelson gained the victory of the Nile on the 1st of August in this year.

have written long ago on the subject of this country. The papers have given you a pretty accurate account of the progress and various events of the rebellion.* It is now broken and suppressed, so far as to its being formidable to the State; but the rebels, no longer assembled in large bodies, are plundering and murdering in small parties through the mountains of Wicklow and the neighbouring country. I fear it will be a long time before perfect tranquillity is restored. Their emissaries have endeavoured to stir the people to insurrection through Tipperary and Cork. They have failed, but were the military withdrawn, I doubt there would be a formidable rising in many places. If the French can be kept off by patience and a steady perseverance in strong and decided measures the kingdom may and will be restored to permanent tranquillity. The juries have done their duty in Dublin. The two Sheares, McCan, and Byrne, four leaders of this conspiracy, have been hanged in the last fortnight. Oliver Bond was to have suffered yesterday, but was respited for very good reasons, as, it is said, great discoveries are expected from him and some who are to be tried. The public mind is excessively dissatisfied at the respite of this man, one of the most guilty; I believe one of the five directors; and unless good cause appears, the Government will find themselves in difficulties. Mercy is the order of the day, which does not please those whose lives, properties, and families are marked for destruction by these miscreants.

The Lord-Lieutenant† acts from himself, and consults but little in the Cabinet here. I hope it may turn out well, but time only can prove this. You have sent us ships and men, and have proved your anxiety about this country, on which the safety of Britain depends; but you have sent us forty-seven Generals (so many there are, I hear, on the staff), one-half of whom are said to be incapable and ignorant. There certainly is a great want of discipline, and the strongest spirit of plunder in the troops. The north is quiet, and will, from all I hear, remain so. They don't like to have their throats cut by the southern Catholics. Some good priests there are, and many loyal Catholics, but the mass of them are rebels, and the priests who are infected with this villany excite them to massacre the Protestants as a means, together with the hope of plunder, to

* This rebellion had broken out at the end of May. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, the head of it, was apprehended on the 21st of that month.

† Lord Cornwallis had just gone over as Lord-Lieutenant, having been appointed expressly for the purpose of dealing with this rebellion. A great many details of the chief events in it, and of the character and actions of the chief prisoners, will be found in his Correspondence, vol. iii.

drive them on in the rebellion. It is a miserable thing to say, but, from all I have seen and know, I am perfectly convinced that, while every thing round them has improved, the minds and feelings of the lower class of the Catholics of Ireland are exactly what they were in 1641. This is possible, and what I could not have believed four months ago, nor at all, had I not seen the proof with my own eyes. They are, however, to be brought to reason, as Cromwell brought them then, and by no other means, as the event will prove. In my opinion, an Union would be the salvation of both islands. It will be difficult to bring it about, and never can be by the present Chief Governor. He is a good and a brave man, but the public entertain no high idea of his capacity. If it is attempted it must be by some man of talents and experience, and above all, possessed of a knowledge of this country. Perhaps no man unites these more than Lord Auckland, who has the advantage of the last, without which nothing can be done. Your account of the revenue is in the highest degree satisfactory. The revenue here goes on well in the midst of all this confusion.

Yours, dear Abbot, always most truly.*

Friday, August 10th. — Went to Tonbridge Wells; while there received the following letter from F. Burton †:—

Mold, Aug. 26th, 1798.

Dear Abbot,—Many thanks for your six paragraphs and your welcome postscript about a. Though I cannot return you any history of a b, I will see whether little Mold will furnish half a dozen paragraphs.

First, then, the circuit has hitherto proved idler than the idlest you can remember. Three causes entered at Pool, but only *one* little one tried. At Ruthyn, one undefended. Here also, a single cause. No prisoner anywhere committed for trial. One manslaughter on voluntary surrender. No contested motion of five minutes, and no more than threats of two equity hearings, neither of them likely to be ready this twelvemonth. Mauley, Ewen, and Benyon seemed to share the little harvest.

Secondly, as well as this little business allows me to judge, I

* There is no signature to the original, nor to many of Lord Clifden's letters from Ireland, a fact which shows the apprehension which he entertained of his letters falling into wrong hands.

† Mr. Francis Burton was one of the Welsh Judges. Mr. Abbot, while at the bar, had gone the Welsh (Chester) Circuit. This separate jurisdiction was abolished in 1832.

like my chief's manner* of doing it—calm, considerate, clear, and concise; civil and attentive to communications, and in his manner frequently inviting it. That manner is indeed so uncommonly cold, dry, and reserved at all times, that very many would probably be disgusted with it, though it suits me very well. A question always received an answer, the shortest that may be, but never begets conversation. But every now and then a question is returned, and perhaps once or twice in a day a short observation finds its way out. He rises early, I believe seldom later than six, and seldom goes to bed later than ten. He is neat, quiet, regular, and well-tempered as well as accommodating. But we interfere with each other's fancies as little as a fashionable husband and wife. I offer to show him about the country, and so we occasionally walk together; but he as often, or oftener, walks alone, and of course I the same. He is a great reader, and very evidently a still greater thinker. We often pass hours together without a word, and frequently some of them without book or pen in either of our hands. To give you the best idea I can of his silence, in comparison with him I seem to myself a very rattle. We are, however, I think, calculated to agree incomparably well. Now that I can read so much less than formerly†, I could wish to provoke a little conversation now and then. Yet, upon the whole, I think George Hardinge would be apt to term us "The well-associated Solitudinarians."

N.B. Paragraph two *not* for the vulgar.

Thirdly. Sir Watkin‡ is adored in Taffyland, and deserves it much. Besides what you have heard of his spirit, it is certain he acted a mere volunteer often enough to partake in five actions when no duty required it.

Fourthly. Major Wardle dined with us yesterday, having served here on the Grand Jury. He too has distinguished himself so much as to have been greatly employed in training the corps of Irish Yeomanry; and is now in high health and spirits, without a scratch, after assisting (as I heard, *not* from himself) in sixteen actions. The rebels (according to him) were far more formidable than I had before imagined them; their discipline being good, their attacks well executed, and their retreats well effected; insomuch that we were frequently out-manœuvred

* Mr. Grant, afterwards Sir W. Grant, Master of the Rolls, had lately been appointed Chief Justice of Chester.

† He afterwards lost his sight entirely, which obliged him to retire from Parliament and his profession.

‡ Sir W. Wynn. He was on duty in Ireland with his regiment of Welsh Fencibles.

and out-generaled. Surprise was their forte; and in the attack, instead of marching in column and forming afterwards in line, they made no difficulty, with the help of their pikes, in running through the fields, as it were, in a scattered and extended line, over hedge and ditch, and forming at once when arrived at their point of destination. The want of fire-arms was their only deficiency, except that they could not be restrained from plunder whilst they ought to have been cutting off our supplies. Clearly no French officers among them. No known evidence to the contrary, except finding a French uniform on one man killed in an early action. As clearly, I think, they must have been commanded by Irishmen excellently trained in the French armies.

By some who know Ireland, it is believed that the whole country will be quiet in a fortnight, the rebellion forgotten in six weeks, and in eight months every Protestant massacred.

Fifthly. Wheat here abundant, without smut or blemish, and almost entirely well harvested; oats nearly the same; barley thin, and ripens at twice, the last and largest part yet greenish. Harvest wages never so low, excepting the first week: latterly, fourteen pence, now no more than a shilling a day.

Sixthly. The single cause here dead of a reference.

Seventhly. Old Waring has survived two paralytic strokes, which affected his memory; he got the better of an asthmatic fit still more alarming. Yours truly, F. B.

31*st.*—Returned from Tunbridge.

Monday, Nov. 12*th.*—In the morning saw the Speaker, and had a long conversation with him about Finance Reports, Irish linens, Income Tax, &c.

15*th.*—The Attorney-General brought up for judgment the publishers of Wakefield's answer to the Bishop of Llandaff; and gave notice that he should prosecute *Reviews*, if they became the vehicles of sedition.

I received a letter from Sir Philip Gibbes, desiring me to lay his case before the Attorney-General on the capacity of a slave to inherit land and negroes in Barbadoes.

19*th.*—Went to the Cockpit in the evening to hear the King's Speech. Two-thirds of the room were filled with strangers and blackguard news-writers. Mr. Pitt came in at half-past nine with Mr. Secretary Dundas,

the Lords of the Treasury, Master of the Rolls, Attorney- and Solicitor-General, &c. The Speaker absent from illness.

20*th.*—The Session opened.

The Address was moved and seconded by Lord Granville Leveson Gower* and Sir W. Mildmay. The former made a very sensible and impressive speech upon the state of the country, and the impossibility of looking to peace whilst France preserved her present temper and system such as they appeared to be in their conduct towards America and Switzerland. The only other speeches were two, very absurd and ill-judged, by Sir John Sinclair and Sir Francis Burdett. No division nor amendment. Mr. Pitt rose only to give notice of his Finance propositions for Monday sen'night.

22*nd.*—I went to the Drawing Room. The Address of the House of Commons was presented after the Drawing Room, and the Speaker read it by candlelight to the King. The Princesses stopped to see the ceremony.

29*th.*—Thanksgiving Day. Sermon at St. Margaret's before the House of Commons, by Dr. Rennell. About forty Members present.

Saturday, Dec. 1*st.*—Sent to Mr. Pitt a copy of the representation of the Grand Jury for Middlesex respecting the defect of means for the prosecution of presentments by Constables, and a note to him upon the subject of the Police Revenue. Saw Wickham, and settled finally with him the proper mode of sending the Acts, &c., post free from the county post-masters to the resident acting justices.

2*nd.*—In the evening went to Lord Mendip's, who mentioned to me in conversing about Egypt, &c., that Bruce had shown him six sketches of buildings and landscapes which the King, when he bought the rest, desired Bruce to finish; and that Bruce took them to Scotland, and upon his return showed them to Lord

* Afterwards created Earl Granville.

Mendip, finished in the same exquisite style as the rest. A Mr. Brown, now lately arrived from Egypt and the Kingdom of Darfour, in the interior of Africa, has borne testimony to the general truth of Bruce's having been received in Abyssinia with the highest favour, and has also borne testimony to the accuracy of his descriptions and drawings of the animals of those regions. But the Abyssinians whom Mr. Brown saw assured him that Bruce himself never was at the sources of the Nile, but took his description from those whom he sent in different directions to explore.

3rd.—I sent down to Helston the opinions of Gibbs* and Le Blanc, "that the Corporation had no right to enclose or let improving leases of Helston Down." The Mayor also by this post sent me the resolutions of the Corporation, agreeing with the City of London as to the necessity of a more equal mode of raising the supplies.

House of Commons. This day Mr. Pitt opened the Supplies and Ways and Means of the year; viz., Supplies, nearly 30,000,000*l.* Ordinary Ways and Means, 6,000,000*l.*; extraordinary, 1. By tax of one-tenth on income, 10,000,000*l.* 2. Loan, 14,000,000*l.*; of which 4,500,000*l.* would in 1799 be counter-balanced by an equal sum applicable by the Commissioners for Reducing the National Debt; and the rest, viz. 9,500,000*l.*, must be counter-balanced by continuing the tax on income for a further year.

He spoke two hours and a half with the greatest perspicuity of detail, and in the best style of his most animated eloquence. His analysis of national income was very curious and masterly.

4th.—Called upon the Speaker. Amongst other things, talked over the proposed addition of 500*l.* a year to the judges; Mr. Pitt being inclined to charge it upon the Consolidated Fund, and to carry the fees of lapsed sinecures in the law to the same fund, in ease of its charge. Dr. Rennell's sermon, and the custom of submitting such sermons to the Speaker for correction be-

* Afterwards Sir Vicary Gibbs, Attorney-General.

fore they are preached, which Dr. R. had in this instance partly evaded. I desired to have back my copy of a proposed annual report upon the Expiring Laws. Mr. Pitt had asked the Speaker whether I had prepared any abstract, &c., before the Speaker had mentioned it to him.

Came with Vansittart to the House. Vansittart, by a different mode of calculation upon different data had actually valued the annual income of the nation at very nearly the same amount as Mr. Pitt.

10*th*.—Sir Francis Burdett moved for a list of the persons in gaol under the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act. Agreed to by Mr. Pitt. Afterwards the Budget of Loan for 3,000,000*l*. was stated by Mr. Pitt. 100*l*. Consols taken at 52*l*. 10*s*. being market price; 87*l*. 9*s*. Reduced, at 46*l*. 12*s*. 1½*d*., being more than the market price. Bonus, 13*s*. 4*d*. Total, 99*l*. 15*s*. 5½*d*.

14*th*.—House of Commons met for consideration of the Report from the Committee upon the Income Bill. Mr. Pitt argued that taxation could only be on general *consumption*, or upon *individuals directly*. That, the first being impracticable to the amount proposed, viz., 10,000,000*l*., or, if it were practicable, yet requiring a still larger burthen to be raised in order to receive such a sum net into the Exchequer, resort must be had to individual taxation. This could only be on capital or on income. That taxation upon the *capital* of property would be the most difficult, as to the mode of estimating it; and the most unproductive, because all reversionary property would escape taxation, as the reversioners had nothing to pay with; that *income* therefore was the only other head.

As to income, that although some sorts arose from the possession of an absolute interest in permanent property, and other sorts from temporary rights, such as annuities, &c., and others from interests supported by the personal labour and industry of the owner; such as official, professional, and commercial incomes, yet the *same rate* of taxation must apply to all:

First, because even taxes on consumption do not in practice, when they are resorted to, vary in their amount as to the income out of which they are to be paid. Secondly, personal taxes for country rates and parochial levies make no such difference. Thirdly, that the tax on income leaves every such inequality where it found it, and the inequality after the tax is taken out of the given sorts of income is neither more nor less than it was before. And that this tax is not to be expected more than any other to aim at any equalisation of incomes in the different classes and occupations of Civil Society. Noticing, also, that the Landed Income, if it has the advantage of greater permanency, and the capacity of descending to the family of the owner, yet has the disadvantage of yielding upon the capital invested in this sort of purchase a lower rate of interest. Whereas the income from capital coupled with industry, if it be less permanent, is accompanied, however, with a much larger rate of interest. And that all which could be done with respect to the smaller incomes of a precarious nature, was to allow the individual who might choose to provide for a saving by insurance for his family, to deduct the annual premium in estimating his net income. He did not now enter into the particulars of the scale, nor into the mischiefs or policy of disclosure in mercantile cases. Division. For proceeding, 183; against it, 17; at eleven o'clock.

17*th*. — House of Commons, Committee on Land Tax Redemption Bill, and afterwards on Income Bill. Went through preamble, and afterwards the two first clauses. Only speakers against it, Wigley, Tierney, and W. Smith. Division on the question for taxing all incomes without discrimination: for it, 123; against it, 9.

19*th*. — Committee on Income Bill. Two divisions. Opposition 4 and 9.

The Speaker, on the remarks of Sir W. Geary and Sir W. Pulteney, acceded to the necessity of being jealous

of great amendments on any Bill; either by riders, or clauses on the report, as precluding the free discussion which such measures required.

21*st.* — Second reading of Habeas Corpus Suspension Act. For it, 69; against it, 6.

22*nd.* — House of Commons. Income Bill through the Committee.* The Speaker debated and voted for it.

26*th.* — House of Commons. Habeas Corpus Suspension Act continued till May.

27*th.* — Thermometer 15°, snow. House of Commons. Tierney's motion against the *Times*, respecting Lord Auckland. And on report of Income Bill, adjourned at nine.

28*th.* — House of Commons. Income Bill till two o'clock in the morning. Thermometer 10°.

29*th.* — Thermometer 37°. House of Commons sat on Income Bill till seven.

31*st.* — In the House of Commons, read Income Tax Bill a third time. I spoke upon it. Division: for it, 93; against it, 2.

CHAP. IX.

1799.

KING'S MESSAGE ON UNION WITH IRELAND. — CANNING. — PITT BRINGS FORWARD THE UNION IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS. — SECESSION OF THE OPPOSITION. — COMMITTEE ON EXPIRING LAWS. — COPPER COMMITTEE. — LETTER FROM MR. WICKHAM ON LONDON POLICE, ETC. — TREASON FORFEITURE BILL. — BUDGET. — MEASURE FOR THE AUGMENTATION OF THE JUDGES' SALARIES. — LETTER FROM LORD CLIFDEN ABOUT IRELAND. — SECRET EXPEDITION SAILS. — CAPTURE OF THE DUTCH FLEET AT THE TEXEL. — CAPTURE OF SERINGAPATAM. — THE KING DESIRES THE HOUSES TO ADJOURN.

WEDNESDAY, January 2. — The House of Commons passed the Income Bill.

7th. — House of Commons. The Speaker acquainted the House that he had received notice of the Bank's intention to pay in cash all fractional sums below 5*l.*

9th. — Examined Lord Hale's MSS. in Lincoln's Inn Library: apparently not a very valuable collection, though containing some few old copies of the Early Statutes in parchment books illuminated.

House of Commons. I mentioned to Mr. Pitt my intention to move for an account of the Income and Charges of the Consolidated Fund for the year ended Jan. 5, 1799. Also for an account of the ordinary revenues and extraordinary resources, constituting the public income of Great Britain, for the same year. He agreed to them; and I moved them accordingly.

These accounts are similar in their description to those presented by the Finance Committee for the preceding year, viz., twenty-third Report, and should be annually called for. They exceed in compass and perspicuity, all the Parliamentary accounts hitherto in use.

The Income Tax Bill received the royal assent.

17*th.* — Saw Booth, who gave me the History of Canning's intended removal from Lord Grenville's Office.

Irving came to me in the evening, and we finished the form of account which he was to call for, under the order of the House of Commons, upon my motion for an account of the Public Income.

18*th.* — Lord Camelford was this day liberated from the custody of the King's messenger.

22*nd.*—House of Commons. Mr. Secretary Dundas, brought a message from the King respecting the "Union," though it did not use the *word* union. Resolved to take it into consideration to-morrow. Sheridan gave notice, that he should oppose the assurance of the House being disposed to enter upon the measure at this time.

23*rd.* — At ten, I went to the Speaker, gave him my abstract of proceedings respecting the Union, talked upon the projected mode of transacting it; and the mode finally resolved on. Also Lord Camelford's affair, the Montreal pardon, &c. Also the proposed Secret Committee upon papers to be presented respecting the conspiracies, to produce the separation of Ireland. Also the Under Secretaries of State, and their proposed augmentation of salary. Mr. Huskisson, &c.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Secretary Dundas, simply moved the address. Sheridan, in a speech of an hour and a half, proposed his amendment.

He argued, first, that the transaction of 1782, giving independence to Ireland, was treated by the English Parliament as a final settlement. Secondly, that, in the present state of Ireland, it could not give a *free* assent to any settlement. Thirdly, that a forced assent to an union would tend to produce hereafter a separation, by implanting a rooted resentment against Great Britain, for the advantage taken of its distressed state in inflicting the union. Fourthly, that the Irish

Parliament is *incompetent* to surrender its own independence, &c. &c.

Canning answered at great length. Mr. Tyrrwhitt Jones and Mr. Martin spoke a few sentences; but, before the question was put, Mr. Pitt rose, and, in a speech of about an hour, went through all the leading topics with a great display of ability and conclusive reasoning.

1. To show the necessity of some further settlement, he stated the history of Irish politics from the year 1782 to the present time, the commercial propositions and the regency, contending that the only connection now subsisting was the unity of the Crowns *, which might be dissolved by the slightest accident if the public interests of the two countries clashed, or were supposed to clash on any future question of general concern, such as peace or war.

2. That the state of parties and religious distinctions was such as to render it impossible for either Catholic or Protestant to hold the legislative power with satisfaction, or with fair advantage to the adverse party, and that nothing but a legislative union with Great Britain could create an impartial tribunal, by which the concerns of each country might be administered with a just and parental regard to the well-being of the whole empire; and that the same incorporation by a thorough intercourse of traffic and manners would operate gradually to give better habits of life to the people of Ireland than they could hope to acquire under the exclusive domination of either party.

3. That the Parliament of each country was competent to consent to such an union, because the Sovereign power resides nowhere else, according to the constitution of each country; and, if it were not so, we must deny the validity of the Scotch Union, and the

* An Act of Henry VII., known as Poyning's Act, taking away from the Irish Parliament all power of independent legislation, had been enforced and made more stringent by a fresh Act, passed in the reign of George I.; but in 1782 both these Acts had been repealed by Lord Rockingham's Administration.

legality of every act done by the Parliament of Great Britain since it existed.

There was no division; and the further consideration was adjourned to Thursday 31st.

Fox was not down; and Grey and Tierney, though present, sat three rows behind Sheridan, who was upon the floor. They went away after Sheridan's speech.

Before the House rose, Mr. Secretary Dundas moved to refer the papers presented by him to a secret committee. The precedent of 1794 was followed; the Committee to be 13, and to be named to-morrow by ballot.

24*th*.—We went to the Drawing-room. The King talked to me as usual about Westminster Hall, the Light Horse Volunteers, and the House of Commons. The Secret Committee was balloted.

26*th*.—News arrived from Ireland, where the Address for considering of an Union was carried in the Lords by 43, and in the Commons by 2.

31*st*.—Mr. Pitt opened the propositions for a legislative union with Ireland, in a speech of three hours. Mr. Sheridan, Lord Hawkesbury, and Dr. Lawrence spoke. Mr. Pitt having proposed to go into a Committee for the purpose of laying the articles before the House, in order to a discussion on the Thursday following, a division took place. For the Speaker leaving the chair, 140; against it, 19.

Monday, Feb. 4*th*.—Frost intense, and much snow on the ground for some days past; some hackney coaches driving about with four horses (as in the year 1740), and others declining to leave their stable yards or ply in the streets.

7*th*.—House of Commons. Debate on the Union. Two divisions: first on Mr. Sheridan's resolutions. For them, 25; against them, 141. Afterwards, on the Speaker's leaving the chair, for it, 149; against it, 24. House rose at half-past one. Mr. Pitt did not speak on the main question. Dundas and Windham made excellent speeches, each in his own best manner. Grey's

was the only good speech on the opposite side; but evidently not co-operating with Sheridan or Tierney.

9*th.*—Having spoken to the Attorney-General yesterday, who told me that I had his *approbation*, and his *hearty approbation*, in bringing forward a measure to prevent the accidental expiration of temporary Acts, I sent my papers to the Speaker.

11*th.*—Debate on Speaker leaving the chair, and for Committee on Irish Union. Division: 131 to 19. Rose at 12. Mr. Pitt asserted, and re-asserted, that Lord Fitzwilliam had never been authorised to make any concessions which he had afterwards been directed to retract. And he asserted that after what was called the final settlement of 1782, the Duke of Portland, as Lord Lieutenant, had, moreover, peculiarly directed his attention, by orders from the Government here, to a substitution of some system of connection between the two countries, in lieu of that renounced by the recognition of independence.

12*th.*—In the House of Commons, Committee on the Irish Union. The opposition seceded. Bankes spoke against the Union; the Speaker for it; after which some explanations took place between Mr. Wilberforce, Bird, Mr. Pole Carew, and Mr. Pitt, respecting the articles of Commerce and Finance. House rose at 10.

14*th.*—House of Commons agreed to the report on the resolutions for an Union. Debate till 11. Lord Temple ordered to pray a conference with the Lords upon the matter. Sheridan and Grey did not attend. Hobhouse, Tyrwhitt, Jones, Bankes, Wilberforce, and Bird, spoke against it. Lord Granville Levison, Lord Morpeth, Lord Belgrave, and Mr. Peel for it.

18*th.*—Went to the Speaker at 11, and stayed till 1; in the course of which we discussed the mode of making an annual report upon the Temporary Laws; and also entered into a very confidential conversation respecting the measures of the rest of the session: Sedition Bills, Tithes, &c., and the probable changes among the officers of the House, and Chairmen of Ways and Means, &c.

22*nd.* In the House of Commons I moved: 1. For an account of Exports and Imports for the last twelve years. 2. Of the nett produce of the Permanent Taxes for the last two years. 3. For an account of the actual expenditure within the year 1798.

23*rd.* — Went to the Speaker to communicate to him the amended form of moving for the Committee, &c.

26*th.* — I gave notice of the motion for Expired and Expiring Lands Committee: and moved for amounts of Exports and Imports, &c. And amongst the rest for an account of Enclosure Bills, Canal Bills, &c.; like the account laid before the Lords' Secret Committee on the Bench in 1797.

28*th.* — The Speaker doubted about the power of the House of Commons to send an order to the Clerk of the Parliament for accounts of Bills passed, &c., he being a servant *of the House of Lords.* But upon conversation with Mr. Ley and myself, he agreed that the Clerk of the Parliament, quoad the custody of the Statute Records, was equally the servant of the King, the Lords, and the Commons, and bound to give access to all the King's subjects.

Friday, March 1*st.* — In the House of Commons I moved for the Expiring Laws Committee: and the Attorney-General seconded me. The Speaker mentioned that Hatsell objected to the power of the House of Commons extending to the Clerk of the Parliament; because, if so, the House of Lords might call on the Clerk of the House of Commons, and wished me to discharge the order. I objected; because the statutes were in common custody for the use of all the three Estates of the Realm. That the Clerk of the Parliament had two capacities in which he acted, the one for the separate business of the Lords in their Chamber of Parliament; and the other as servant to the entire Parliament. Also that the precedents showed the power of the House of Commons, or even of a Committee to send for a Lord of Parliament. (Hatsell, vol.* p.) And if a Committee could send for one of the Masters of the Clerk

* Blank in MS.

of the Parliament, *à fortiori*, the whole House, could send for the Clerk himself, &c.

Query. Might not the King's Printer, or the Clerk of the House, be ordered to lay before the House a list, &c. &c.

LIST OF THE COMMITTEE.

Mr. Abbot.	Mr. Long.
Master of the Rolls.	Mr. Wilberforce.
Attorney-General.	Mr. Mainwaring.
Solicitor-General.	Mr. Hawkins Browne.
Lord Advocate for Scotland.	Mr. Bankes.
Lord Belgrave.	Mr. Bragge.
Mr. Ryder.	Mr. Shaw Lefevre.
Mr. Douglas.	

Debate on the abolition of the Slave Trade. For it, 54; against it, 84. Adjourned at one o'clock.

4th. — I saw the Speaker about the order upon the Clerk of the Parliament. Hatsell and Ley were there. Hatsell persisted in denying the authority of the House of Commons, and said it must be done by a Committee of the House of Commons, who might send for what persons or records they wanted. I contended against the idea of the House delegating a power if they had it not; and, if they had, the Committee was unnecessary. The Speaker and Ley were of my opinion; but wished the matter not to be pressed; to which I agreed in every respect, except not allowing that in point of reasoning I was in any degree of opinion against the authority of the House to require the execution of its order, if it thought fit. The Speaker also represented to me that although there was no obligation upon members to communicate their intended motions to the Speaker, yet it was a general *usage*, and *convenient* that it should be so.

The Committee upon Expired and Expiring Laws. Bankes and I verified the continuation of the Register to the Report of 1796; and made an order upon the Treasury for account of what Trade or Revenue Laws wanted revising, &c.

6th. — Committee on Expiring Laws. Agreed to the General Report; and referred the Acts upon Trans-

portation, Insolvents, and Pawnbrokers to the Master of the Rolls, Attorney, and Solicitor General for their opinion.

8*th.* — Bankes and I completed the list of Expired and Expiring Laws; Mr. Pitt brought forward the Civil List papers; and provision for P. Edwards. Division, for it, 83; against it, 4. Only Pitt and Tierney spoke.

11*th.* — I spoke in the House on the Report of the Committee of Supply, on the provision for the Princes out of the Consolidated Fund.

12*th.* — In the House of Commons I moved for the Corporation Account of Hereditary Revenues, &c.; and the Civil List from 1777, to 1799.

18*th.* — I moved in the House of Commons for the account of the arrears and balances of all Public Accountants.

19*th.* — Committee on Expiring Laws. Agreed to some resolutions on Revenue or Trade Laws. The Master of the Rolls, &c., did not attend. In the House of Lords, Lord Grenville moved the resolutions upon the Union with Ireland in a speech of four hours; putting the arguments on strong grounds of detailed political necessity.

20*th.* — Went to the Speaker and had a long conversation with him about his pointed speech on the Union; and upon my proposed motion for an account of the further proceedings of the Treasury, &c., upon the report of the Select Committee on Finance. In the House I mentioned my intention to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Long.

21*st.* — I moved for a new writ for Helston upon Richards's vacancy; he having written for the Chiltern Hundreds. The office of Steward of the Chiltern Hundreds is an appointment under the hand and seal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer: and the fees for it are 14*l.*

Thursday, April 4th. — In the House of Commons a Committee was appointed upon the Copper Mines and Trade.

5*th.* — The Copper Committee met and examined witnesses. Mr. Pitt, Lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Hawkins Browne, Mr. Gregor, Mr. Rashleigh, Mr. Garthshore, Mr. J. Pitt, and Sir J. Mordaunt attended.

The Lord Advocate of Scotland moved for leave to bring in a Bill for increasing the bail in certain criminal cases, and for taking away the privilege altogether in cases of sedition.

6*th.* — Copper Committee at eleven.

9*th.* — Copper Committee. Although Mr. Chinnery had promised faithfully that the Public Accounts moved for by me should be presented on Friday last, and then on Saturday, and then on Monday, and then on Tuesday, yet to-day Mr. Rose made excuses for not presenting them till to-morrow.

10*th.* — Expiring Law Committee. Agreed to several resolutions respecting the laws about Transportation, Penitentiary Houses, Scotch Bankrupts, Insolvent Debtors.

11*th.* — In Copper Committee, examined Bolton of Birmingham.

12*th*, 13*th.* — Copper Committee.

15*th.* — Called on the Speaker, communicated to him my intended motion on the Forfeitures for Treason, and sent him a copy of it.

In the House, Mr. Pitt postponed the business till Friday next.

19*th.* — House of Commons. Mr. Pitt opened the outlines of his measures upon the Report of the Secret Committee, and I urged the necessity of providing for the continuation of the Law of Forfeiture for High Treason, which by the death of the Cardinal of York would come to an end. No division.

22*nd.* — Final Debate on the Address for the Union. No division. Rose at twelve.

24*th.* — I presented six Bills for making perpetual or continuing Public Laws.

25*th.*—Lord Thanet and Mr. Cutlar Fergusson were tried at the bar of the Court of King's Bench.

28*th.*—The Speaker told me that Mr. Pitt quite agreed to the measure of maintaining the Forfeiture for High Treason. I drew out heads of an account of the Hereditary Revenues of the Crown.

30*th.*—At one o'clock went to the Chancellor in his room behind the Court of Chancery to communicate my intentions of bringing in a Bill upon the subject of Forfeitures; he approved entirely, and said Mr. Yorke's book was conclusive. He also talked about the necessity of shortening the delays of trials for misdemeanour. Also about the judgment to be given in Lord Thanet's case.

In the House, I moved for the further proceedings of the Treasury upon the Finance Reports, and gave notice of moving upon the Forfeitures for High Treason.

Thursday, May 2nd.—Copper Committee. Also met Mr. Pitt, Lord Hawkesbury, the two Mr. Vansittarts, and Mr. Fordyce upon the Select Committee on the London Docks, and agreed to put Lord Hawkesbury in the chair. Order papers and meet that day se'ennight.

5*th.*—Irving came to me at one to settle the General Revenue Account.

6*th.*—In the House of Commons went through the Committee on Seditious Society Bill. I moved the clause for excepting the University Presses and the King's Printer from the regulations imposed on other printers.

9*th.*—Dock Committee (arbitration between parties). Mr. Pitt attended it. In the evening, in the Committee of the whole House on the Report of the Committee of Secrecy, I moved for leave to bring in a Bill to repeal so much of the Acts of Anne and George II. as put an end to Forfeiture for High Treason on the death of the Pretender and his Sons. Dr. Laurence spoke against it, and the Master of the Rolls for it.

10*th.*—Called on the Speaker at eleven. Mr. Pitt had expressed himself to be extremely well pleased with

what had passed in the motion respecting Forfeiture. In the Dock Committee, we examined Mr. Dodd's plan for rebuilding London Bridge with an arch lofty enough to let ships pass with their masts standing, and for building wharves on the river on each side with warehouses, from London Bridge to Blackfriars; and Mr. Pitt moved to refer this and the improved plans to the merchants and City of London, to the Commissioners of Customs, and the Trinity House for their opinion. In the House all my Bills for perpetuating or continuing the Temporary Laws were read a third time and passed, and we carried them to the Lords.

21*st.*—Dock Committee met at eleven, and examined Mr. Dodd and Colonel Twiss. In the House Sir Francis Burdett's motion, and the Report upon Cold Bath Fields' Prison came on. Sheridan attended and supported Sir F. Burdett. On the question for re-commitment: for it, 6; against it, 147. The House rose at twelve.

29*th.*—Dock Committee. I proposed to Mr. Pitt my outline for the Desiderata for the Port of London, to which the rest of the Committee in general agreed; and orders were accordingly made for a survey of the soundings between Blackfriars Bridge and London Bridge, and for a survey of London Bridge and of its state of repair.

To-day the news came through France that the Brest fleet was got into the Mediterranean, and had passed Lord St. Vincent.

30*th.*—Dock Committee. Sunday Newspapers Bill. Second reading of the Forfeiture Bill postponed.

Saturday, June 1*st.*—Saw Mr. Forster, Governor of the Russian Company, and of the Royal Exchange Insurance Office, upon the subject of a letter and resolution from a Committee of the merchants of London which was deputed to attend me upon their proposed River Police Bill, and to request me to present it to the House of Commons.

4*th.*—At half-past five I was at the rendezvous of

the Light Horse Volunteers in Gray's Inn Lane, and at half-past six the whole corps marched away to Hyde Park (mounted being about 350, and dismounted 150), where we kept the ground in conjunction with the Surrey Yeomanry during the review of the Volunteer Corps of the Metropolis. These amounted to above 8000 infantry. The King came on the ground at nine, and the review ended at twelve. I went to the Drawing Room, where the King talked to me with great satisfaction of the manner in which the ground was kept by us, and also of the good appearance of the Bloomsbury and Inns of Courts Regiments.

5th.—Dock Committee. Examined the state of London Bridge. Examined also Alderman Hibbert and Anderson on the provisions of the Bill for the Isle of Dogs.

At two, Mr. Forster, Mr. Robert Thornton, Mr. B. Lay, and Mr. Sansom came to me by deputation from the Committee of Merchants on the Thames Police Bill proposed by Colquhon. Rose told me the accounts were all completed except the Crown Revenue. In the House Lord Hawkesbury moved for committing the Isle of Dogs Bill to a Committee of the whole House, and opened the points on which it was proposed to carry the clauses.

Received the following letter from Mr. Wickham*:—

Whitehall, June 5th.

My dear Sir,—Government has no other objection to the Bill you mention being brought forward immediately but the wish to bring forward a general improved plan of police for the Metropolis at one and the same time, with which it is apprehended that any partial project may interfere.

It is this apprehension that has induced Mr. Pitt to promise the sum of 2000*l.* a year in aid of the Marine Police Establishment, in addition to the sum, whatever it may be, furnished by the West India merchants. This sum exceeds by 140*l.* what was originally promised to be paid by Government.

I am inclined to think that Mr. Pitt would grant a still larger

* Mr. Wickham was Private Secretary to the Duke of Portland.

sum, if necessary, rather than go to Parliament with any plan that should be confined to this establishment alone; at the same time I have every reason to believe that both Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Portland are as persuaded as the merchants can be that the greatest utility may be, and has been already, derived from it.

You are no doubt aware that this very thing was in contemplation when a seventh office (viz. that of Shadwell) was added to the six originally intended to have been established by Mr. Burton's very excellent Bill. And I have not the least hesitation in saying, as well from my thorough knowledge of the system itself, as of several of the very excellent magistrates who now conduct it, that every benefit holden out by this new office might have been acquired if the merchants had contributed from their own funds to the Shadwell Office the money they have furnished to the new one. And I most entirely agree with you, on the principle of justice to Mr. Burton and the magistrates who have acted under his Bill, if for no other reason, that either the Shadwell Office ought to be transferred to the Marine Police Office, or the Marine Police Office to Shadwell; either of which may be done, as I conceive, by Mr. Burton's Bill.

The Shadwell Office cannot be transferred elsewhere, because there really is no want of any more police offices in London; nor will it, I conceive, be either just or fair or wise to abolish it altogether because it did not do what really it had not the means of doing. Believe me ever, with the sincerest esteem and regard,

My dear Sir, most faithfully yours, W. WICKHAM.

June 6th. — House of Commons. The Treason Forfeiture Bill was read a second time without any debate.

7th.—Port of London Committee. Accounts ordered; clauses considered. In the House of Commons, a debate upon the voted subsidy of 820,000*l.* for 45,000 Russians, respecting the object of the war with France, which Mr. Pitt stated to be the attainment of a *secure* peace, depending not only upon the territorial limits of France with any view to a *status quo*, but also upon the reduction of the power of France; and still more upon a change in the system, conduct, and character of the Government of France in the purposes to which it applies its power.

After this question, Mr. Pitt, in a speech of two hours, opened the Budget. Supplies, 31,000,000*l.*—

Ways and Means, beyond the surplus of the Consolidated Fund, and Lottery, and Income Tax, a Loan of 15,500,000*l.*, whereof 11,000,000*l.* to be charged upon the Income Tax, and 4,500,000*l.* to be countervailed by the amount of the Sinking Fund, to redeem stock to the same amount. In order to defray the dividends, and 1*l.* per cent. on the stock created by the 4,500,000*l.*, the means proposed were a tax of twopence upon small* notes, estimated at the amount of 1,500,000*l.*, renewed once in two years, and a reduction of the drawbacks upon sugars and coffee imported.

The loan was contracted for at 125*l.* Consols, and 50*l.* Reduced 3 per Cents., with the usual discount for prompt payment; which, taken together at the correct price of stock, were worth less than 100*l.*, and for which the loan contractors were to pay the full sum of 100*l.*, there being no bonus whatever upon this loan, and three sets of contractors, who had each offered to take it upon these terms. No dissentient voice upon these resolutions, nor any debate.

10*th.*—I complained in the House of Commons of the delay of the accounts, and Rose admitted them to be all completed, except the Crown Revenue; but made excuses that the Lords of the Treasury had not had time to look into them. The Treason Forfeiture Bill was put off.

11*th.*—In the Court of King's Bench, the return to the Habeas Corpus for bringing up the Cambridge printer was argued, upon the alleged illegality of the order of the Lords for inflicting fine and imprisonment on the printer for a libel on the Bishop of Llandaff.† Printer remanded. Dock Committee, conferred with the merchants. House of Commons: Sunday News-

* Small notes were those for sums less than 40*s.*

† In May Lord Grenville had brought under the notice of the House of Lords an article in the *Cambridge Intelligencer*, commenting on a speech of the Bishop of Llandaff (Watson), which he declared to be a breach of privilege. The Bishop himself was no party to the proceeding, but the House sentenced Mr. Flower, the printer of the paper, to a fine of 100*l.* and six months' imprisonment. The Court of King's Bench remanded Mr.

paper Bill thrown out; Treason Forfeiture Bill again postponed.

12*th.*—In the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt moved the resolution for augmenting the salaries of the Judges, and providing a Superannuation Fund.

13*th.*—At ten o'clock I went to the Speaker, and had a long and confidential conversation with him about the plan of proceeding for augmenting the salaries of the Judges, and the steps which had recently taken place on the subject. In the House of Commons, Mr. Long presented the accounts, No. I., which I had moved for; and upon moving to print them, he represented my complaint of delay as unreasonable, and I replied. The Attorney and Solicitor-General attended, in expectation of the debate on the Treason Forfeiture Bill; but owing to other business it was again postponed, and I left it to take its chance. Mr. Pitt was not there. It was, in fact (as I found afterwards), put off till the next day se'ennight.

14*th.*—House of Commons. Debate on the compulsory clauses in the Isle of Dogs Dock Bill. Division, 12 to 26.

17*th.*—House of Commons: Dock Committee. The Speaker told me there was certainly to be an Address for a Survey of the Courts of Justice in Scotland, and that the Treason Forfeiture Bill is to pass this session.

In the evening, Irving came about the Hereditary Revenue, &c., and was to take the Treasury order the next day, upon my representation that the Temporary Excise granted by 12 Car. II. c. 23, and continued to Geo. II., ought to be inserted in his account.

18*th.*—In the House of Commons, Mr. Rose presented copies of the Proceedings of the Treasury upon

Flower, on the ground that commitments by Parliament for contempt cannot be inquired into by a court of law; but, according to Lord Campbell (*Lives of Chief Justices*, vol. iii. p. 60), Lord Kenyon, who had warmly supported Lord Grenville's motion in the House of Lords, "justly incurred considerable obloquy" by the asperity with which he treated Mr. Flower's counsel on moving for the writ.

the Finance Reports, and afterwards the accounts (as he called them) of balances paid by Public Accountants, and the state of Hereditary Revenue. I moved successively for the printing of each; and upon the last notice, Rose * got up to state that this account was necessarily imperfect, and chiefly so because the nature of the accounts required very laborious calculations, which could not be finished for the whole period required during the present session; and he also complained of the hardships thrown upon the public officers, at a time of general pressure, by the additional burden of such accounts as these, commending Irving (not by name) for his general diligence, despatch, &c.

I replied, that I should not now inquire into any delays which had occurred in the *beginning* to make up these accounts. I agreed to the peculiar difficulty of the year 1787; and in the present pressure, and in the commendations due to Irving; and congratulated the House, however, that these accounts were now before them, as being extremely interesting and valuable to the House and the public.

Long † upon this got up and said, that as I had intimated an *improper* delay to have taken place in *beginning* upon these accounts, he wished to know whether I had not been told by Mr. Irving that he could not enter upon the Hereditary Revenue Account until after the General Income Account was finished, and whether I did not know this at the time of my complaint to the House?

I replied to this, that what the Hon. Member had last delivered did fill my mind with a wonderful degree of surprise (N.B. What Long said was not true, as applied to the subject); but that I should not dwell upon that subject now nor pursue it. That I had been charged with impatience upon this subject, but that the only impatience which I felt was at the apparent

* Mr. Rose was the Senior Secretary to the Treasury.

† Mr. Long, afterwards Lord Farnborough, was the then Secretary of the Treasury.

neglect and disrespect shown to the orders and authority of the House; a neglect and disrespect to be presumed from the delay, till explained; but that I sincerely rejoiced in the production of these accounts, which the House would find to be highly creditable and satisfactory, and beyond any hitherto laid before the public, either as to extent, or details, or practical service.

19*th.*—Went to the Speaker to tea. Explained to him, 1st, that a conversation alluded to by Long was perfectly confidential and private between me and Irving; 2ndly, that it could not relate to the accounts, with which Irving had no concern, viz., the defaulters and the Treasury proceedings; 3rdly, that of the other two, it could not have happened until the two were ordered; and the first was ordered 9th January (viz., the Public Income), and the latter on the 12th March (viz., the Crown Revenues), which at least supposed by necessity that the first order had been two months in existence and unexecuted; and that, in fact, the conversation did not take place till May; so that even this conversation, so improperly alluded to, did not excuse the delays imputed as to the beginning to make up those accounts. Mr. Speaker was perfectly satisfied; and in the course of the day I stated the same thing to Douglas, and on a subsequent day to Steele.

20*th.*—Dock Committee at one. In the House Tierney moved a string of resolutions on the state of the Public Income and Expenditure; and Mr. Pitt moved to adjourn the debate till the 28th inst., upon an understanding that the resolutions should be printed in the meantime.

25*th.*—House of Commons. Treason Forfeiture Bill was committed. A debate took place on the question for the Speaker leaving the chair. I spoke first; afterwards Sir F. Burdett, Hobhouse, Jolliffe, Hawkins Browne, and Tyrwhitt. Division for it, 57; against it, 8.

26*th.*—Dockyard Committee. Examined evidence on the accumulation of soil in the River Thames, &c.

In the House, the Treason Forfeiture Bill was read a third time and passed. I carried it to the Lords.

27*th.* — Allen Chambre was made a Baron of the Exchequer in the room of Perryn resigned. And, as he could not be called a Serjeant in vacation, he was to be created such by Act of Parliament.

28*th.* — Dock Committee. I proposed heads of a further report. Examined evidence as to the bed of the river. I spoke to the Chancellor about the Treason Forfeiture Bill; who said that Lord Thurlow perfectly agreed to it. In the evening I drew the rough draft of the full report on the Improvement of the Port of London.

29*th.* — Vansittart and Irving came to settle about the materials for the report.

30*th.* — Finished the report.

Monday, July 1*st.* — Reading report to the London Dock Committee. Eight Members present. It was agreed to.

3*rd.* — In the House of Commons, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Irving debated Mr. Pitt's resolutions on Finance.

4*th.* — In the Dock Committee received Custom House Report, and Irving's Evidence on the Warehousing System.

5*th.* — London Port Committee. In the House of Lords, the Slave Limitation Bill.

10*th.* — Vansittart and I settled the report on the Improvement of the Port of London; and added Smeaton's opinion given in 1763, on the alteration in London Bridge, and its effects on the navigation and waterworks; and also added the Excise opinion upon the extension of the Warehousing System.

11*th.* — Presented the Report to the House of Commons; I moved for amended returns from the Auditors' Office; which were immediately presented.

12*th.* — Went to Ramsgate.*

At Ramsgate I received the following letter from Lord Clifden: —

* Parliament was prorogued on the 12th.

Gouran, July 17th, 1799.

My dear Abbot,—As I know you will be glad to hear something of this country, I will tell you shortly what I have learnt since I came here. The country is perfectly quiet, and likely to continue so. The rebels and Papists,—I am sorry to say the terms are almost synonymous,—perceive there is no hope in rebellion, and that death and ruin pursue those who try it. They will continue therefore peaceable, I believe, and are now become great friends to Union: partly through malice, partly through fear; no matter, they everywhere come forward in favour of the measure; and I am happy to say several counties, Cork, Kerry, Mayo, Waterford, have declared strongly, and almost unanimously in favour of it. Others will do so before Parliament meets. We are getting resolutions signed in Kilkenny at present. I don't know whether it is yet decided when Parliament is to meet. Some think in October; others in January. A sufficient majority being secured, the thing will be carried without the smallest disturbance; and unless they manage miserably indeed, they may have numbers sufficient. There is, however, but one way to gain them, and that is by ample compensation and remuneration for the sacrifices made by individuals. This, I believe, they are well disposed to do. Without it, believe me, the measure will never be carried. All Ireland will gain, and this all Ireland begins to perceive, except boroughmongers and speculators in Parliament, of which there are several in this House of Commons, the seats having been sold very cheap. These persons must be gratified; and this, I believe, they most wisely are resolved to do.

The counties will continue to return two members each, which makes sixty-four members; the great towns about fourteen; and the remaining twenty-two will be thrown among 100 boroughs, making districts of four or five boroughs to return a member, as in Scotland. This, or something near it, will, I believe, be the mode adopted. In defiance of madness, villany, and rebellion, this country is increasing in revenue and general prosperity. Suwarrow continues to beat the French, which more and more contributes to secure internal tranquillity here.*

I remain, my dear Abbot, yours always most faithfully,

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* Though Moreau had taken the command of the French army in the north of Italy, Suwarrow, in the course of May, had recovered Milan and Turin. On the 19th of June he gained a great victory over Macdonald at Garofalo, on the Trebbia; while, in consequence of this victory, Mantua was recovered by the Austrians a few days after this letter was written. On the 14th of August Suwarrow gained the great victory of Novi over Moreau and Joubert.

Friday, August 2nd.—Rose came in the Custom House yacht, with Lord Eldon, &c. In the course of the day Rose said to me that "if Mr. Dundas became Prime Minister he would be a short-lived Minister, and his power would be tripped up like a scene in a pantomime."

3rd and 4th.—Fifty-six transports for the secret expedition came into the harbour.

13th.—The fleet sailed, amounting to 200 sail, carrying 13,000 men, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie.

23rd and 24th.—A second camp of 16,000 men having been formed on Barham Downs, 3000 of these marched to Deal and embarked under General Dare.

27th.—The first embarkation landed at the Helder and defeated the Dutch.

28th and 30th.—The Dutch fleet at the Texel surrendered; and General Dare went with the second English embarkation.

Wednesday, Sept. 11th.—The third English embarkation sailed under Lord Chatham and Prince William of Gloucester, preceded by the Duke of York.

Proclamation of the 9th for the meeting of Parliament came to Ramsgate.

The following circular was issued by Mr. Pitt:—

Downing Street, Sept. 14th.

Sir,—The importance of following up the successes which have been recently obtained, rendering it extremely desirable to provide as speedily as possible a further augmentation of disposable military force, it has been thought advisable that Parliament should be assembled without delay, in order to give an opportunity of proposing an Act to enable His Majesty to avail himself for that purpose of the services of volunteers from the militia to a greater extent than is authorised by the Act of last session. As this measure will be proposed immediately after the meeting, which is fixed for Tuesday the 24th instant; and as no other public business is intended to be brought forward, the session will probably be of very short duration; but a full attendance is particularly desirable.

I am, Sir, your most faithful Servant, W. Pitt.

23rd and 24th.—Came to Town from Ramsgate.

The session opened with King's Speech upon the successes of the campaign; and in the House of Commons an Address was moved by Mr. Shaw Lefevre, and seconded by Colonel Elford. No debate.

25*th*.—In the House the Address was reported. Rose moved for the Committee on the Expired and Expiring Laws in the old fashion.

26*th*.—I called upon the Speaker. It was agreed that I should move an instruction upon the plan of our Expiring Laws Committee of the last session. The House went up with the Address. Upon its return, the thanks were voted to Admiral Mitchell*, Sir Sidney Smith†, Sir R. Abercrombie, &c.; and upon a motion for leave to bring in a Bill for further drafting the Militia, Dundas, Tierney, Wyndham, Sheridan, and Mr. Pitt spoke. At the rising of the House I moved the instruction agreed upon.

27*th*.—In the Committee upon Expired and Expiring Laws I proposed the General Report, which was agreed to; and we afterwards adopted Rose's resolutions for the continuance of particular Acts. I reported to the House.

30*th*.—The House went into a Committee on the Militia Volunteer Bill.

Tuesday, Oct. 1*st*.—Rode with the Speaker by appointment. Settled the motion for copies of the Admiralty proceedings and the Finance Reports. Also agreed upon the plan for a Committee upon the state of the *Public Records* during the ensuing winter. Settled the time and mode of giving notice of the motion. The concurrence and sanction of Mr. Pitt was signified at the time, the names of the Committee to be appointed, &c.

The conversation proceeded thus:—

1st. Upon the actual state of the Record, &c. of the

* Admiral Mitchell was the commander of our fleet to which the Dutch fleet under Admiral Story surrendered.

† The service for which Sir S. Smith was thanked had no connection with the Dutch expedition, but was the defence of Acre against Buonaparte.

Exchequer, as well on the law side as in the five offices which had been noticed by the Finance Committee (23rd Report). To this the Speaker added the pressing necessity of some better arrangement of the House of Commons papers; and the importance of those in the Tower, as requiring publication, had been recently urged by Dr. Laurence.

2ndly. Upon the expediency of Parliament taking up the inquiry as a great public concern during the ensuing session, when no other general inquiry of magnitude was on foot.

3rdly. Upon the propriety of Mr. Pitt giving it his avowed and decided support, with an understanding that any pecuniary remuneration to persons employed under the direction of the Committee would be made good.

4thly. Upon the giving notice before the approaching recess, as a warning for preparation in the different offices to meet the inquiry.

5thly. Upon the ease and utility of forming a new succession of persons versed in the knowledge necessary for these matters, by their necessary intercourse with the older and more experienced, so as to improve and continue the traditional stock of information, which at present is gradually declining.

6thly. Upon the lapse of time since the last inquiry of the sort, viz., in 1732.

My points in this plan are: — First, an useful public work which no other person is apparently disposed to undertake. Secondly, by an occupation coinciding with my former habits and pursuits, and tending to those which I am most desirous of cultivating in future, as connected with my Parliamentary and professional views.

In the House I communicated to Wallace my intended motion for a production of the Admiralty proceedings upon the Finance Reports.

2nd. — In the House I moved for copies of the proceedings of the Lords of the Admiralty on the several

matters stated in the Reports of the Finance Committee; so far as they regarded the Naval Department. Wallace did not oppose the motion, but explained the progress made, and that proceedings on the Admiralty, Dockyards, and Victualling Office, would be completed for the House. I replied.

3rd. — The Speaker told me he had mentioned the inquiry into the Records to Mr. Pitt, whose answer, though not in words, was in effect, *non equidem invideo, miror magis*, &c.

4th. — I saw Topham upon Corporation business, and afterwards consulted him upon the propriety of the Record Inquiry, and the Desiderata; and the probable assistance.

I also examined the box of the Commissioners of Public Accounts, which began their proceedings in August, 1780, and ended in August, 1787. In the box there is a fair schedule of all its contents, consisting of journal, precepts, disbursements, accounts, and papers laid before the Commissioners; letters, examinations, &c.

In January, 1787, the Commissioners having finished their 15th Report, viz. upon the Customs, came to a set of resolutions explanatory of the opinions upon the original objects of their institution, and of the mode and degree in which they had attained them; and also a resolution to communicate their proceedings and opinions to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

From January to August, the rest of their meetings were employed in revising their journal and scheduling their papers to be delivered up to the House of Commons.

From Mr. Lane, who was Secretary during the latter part of the Commission, I have understood that this Commission cost the public above 10,000*l.* a year in salaries and office expenses.

Wallace presented the Report of the Admiralty on their own establishment, as approved by the King in Council, under the Order of the House of Commons of Wednesday last.

Secretary Dundas moved the thanks to Lord Mornington.*

5*th.*—Wrote to the Speaker upon the subject of the Public Records, stating the proceedings under Lord Halifax, in Queen Anne's reign; and the language of the unanimous Address of the House of Commons in 1732; and leaving the question (of my undertaking the measure at present) upon Mr. Pitt's thinking fit to declare in the House that it should have his approbation and support.

7*th.*—News arrived of the battle of Alkmaar.†

9*th.*—Met the Speaker, who had shown my letter to Mr. Pitt, and he expressed his perfect readiness to support the measure I had proposed.

In the House accordingly I gave notice that I should take an early opportunity, after the approaching recess, of moving for an inquiry into the state of the Public Records of the Kingdom, for the purpose of ascertaining their present condition, of providing more effectually for their preservation in future, and for rendering the use of them more convenient to His Majesty's subjects.

At the same time I thought it proper to add that the plan which I had it in view to propose, was the same as was undertaken by Lord Halifax, in the reign of Queen Anne, and adopted by the House of Commons after the burning of the Cottonian Library, in the reign of his late Majesty.

Mr. Pitt immediately rose to say, that it gave him great satisfaction to find that I had turned my thoughts to this subject; and as he thought the measure extremely desirable, he should certainly be glad to cooperate with me to the utmost.

11*th.*—Searched the papers of the House of Commons

* For the capture of Seringapatam, the news of which had just reached England.

† There were no less than three battles at Alkmaar on the 19th September, 2nd and 6th of October, in each of which the Duke of York, at the head of a British and Russian army, gained the advantage over the French, though not one of a character sufficiently decided to enable him to maintain his footing in Holland, which he soon afterwards evacuated.

from 1697 to 1797, and also the proceedings of the Lords from 1793 to 1797, for precedents of proceedings respecting improvements or rebuilding of the Houses of Parliament, and others contiguous thereto.

12*th.*—The House of Commons sat between eleven and twelve to receive Bills from the Lords, and to attend the House of Lords upon the passing. After this business Mr. Pitt acquainted the House that it was His Majesty's desire that the House should adjourn to Tuesday the 21st of January.

Upon a motion made to that effect immediately afterwards, it was opposed by Tierney, on the ground of its being an unusual hour to proceed upon public business without notice that it would come on at such a time. The Speaker was called upon to give his opinion upon the propriety. This he declined; but stated to the House that it did not appear by the precedents any delay had ever taken place between such intimation from the King and the subsequent motion.

N.B.—The last precedent was on the 2nd of August, 1785, for an adjournment to the 27th October, following, viz. upon the Irish propositions, to prevent their falling to the ground by prorogation. Two divisions of 38 to none, except the tellers, upon amendment to adjourn to 12th November, and to adjourn the debate till this day at four o'clock.

14*th.*—Rode to Wapping, Blackwall, and the Isle of Dogs, where 100 men were at work in digging the canal across it; they had been at work ten days, and the soil below the surface was extremely dry and hard. Hard frost the last ten days of the year.

RECAPITULATION OF 1799.

During the whole of this Session, also, the principal leaders of Opposition continued to secede. Mr. Fox did not come once. Grey came and spoke once against the Union; and Sheridan opposed it in several stages. Tierney never acted with them; but maintained his

own line of opposition, especially in questions of finance; and brought forward a set of resolutions on the debt and taxes and resources in June, which were superseded by another set of resolutions proposed by Mr. Pitt in July.

The provision for the Dukes of Kent and Cumberland, proposed in March, brought forward the state of the Civil List, and I moved for a comparative account of the revenues enjoyed by George II., and of the Civil List, annuity, and grants enjoyed by His present Majesty. The account was accordingly produced, and showed manifestly the disadvantage to His present Majesty, although the account was not completed for want of time.

The Report from the Secret Committee on the treasonable practices of the English and Irish Jacobins gave me occasion to bring in a Bill to perpetuate the Law of Forfeiture for Treason. The Bill was brought in upon grounds which were stated by me in a way, I believe, very satisfactory to the House in general; but by the negligence of Administration, and a teasing opposition, it was made to linger through the House from April to the end of June; when it passed by a division of 57 to 8. This was the only division that took place in any stage of it in the House of Commons.

CHAP. X.

1800.

BUONAPARTE'S LETTER TO THE KING.—MR. ABBOT MOVES FOR A COMMITTEE ON THE STATE OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS.—BUDGET FOR 1800.—DEBATES ON THE UNION.—THE KING IS SHOT AT IN HYDE-PARK AND AT DRURY LANE.—ILLNESS OF PITT.—OPENING OF THE NEW SESSION.—CORN COMMITTEE.—DEBATE ON NEGOTIATION WITH FRANCE.—UNWILLINGNESS OF THE SCOTCH CLERGY TO MAKE RETURNS OF THE POPULATION.

SATURDAY, Jan. 4th.—Went to St. James's Vestry from eleven to one o'clock, to attend the receipt of subscriptions to the soup fund. According to the vestry clerk there are in this parish 4700 houses, 2000 poor, 207 alehouses, and the poor-rates are 18,000*l.* per annum. The living is 1100*l.*

14th.—Lord Eldon came by appointment to talk over the Record Inquiry, &c. He agreed most cordially in the general measure and discussed several of the subordinate parts, such as Bishop's Registers, Parochial Registers, Heralds' Books, the Patent Office, the Baga de Secretis, &c. He promised to send me his own vindication of his opinion upon the Record in Lord Thanet's case, and considered himself "pledged to Parliament" upon another matter, viz. his Bill for shortening his time of trial for misdemeanours. Upon the subject of the Registration in Scotland he was clearly of opinion that a General Registry throughout England would be of great public utility. Upon my suggesting the necessity of preserving the affidavits made at Judges' Chambers for obtaining orders there, he agreed so entirely with me in consequence of his own experience, that he had actually taken steps on the subject in his own Court. The King has now left off port wine, and with all his excessive fatigue of

exercise, drinks but one glass of Madeira. He has taken to wear a spencer and pantaloons.

17*th.*—Went to Lord Frederick Campbell's* upon the subject of the Register House in Scotland, and by his desire sent him the full set of questions to be answered. He sent me a printed memorial upon the state of that office in 1788. Afterwards I met Planta at the Museum, read over his draft of the proposed Return; corrected it, and sent him the full set of questions. Also had his consent to propose him as a person ready to give his assistance to a Committee of the House of Commons if required.

19*th.*—A civil reply from Buonaparte through Talleyrand to Lord Grenville's hostile note.

20*th.*—Saw the Attorney-General† upon the subject of the Record Committee, and explained to him my plan, to which he agreed.

21*st.*—House of Commons met for the first time since the adjournment in October. Sheridan gave notice of a motion upon the Dutch Expedition; Tierney of a call of the House; Mr. Pitt, of a message on the overture of France.‡ I moved for the annual

* Lord Register of Scotland. He died in 1817, in the 87th year of his age. Lord Colchester then speaks of him, as "possessing a mind to the latest hour endowed with the highest vigour; manners noble, gracious, and of never failing gaiety: and a heart most affectionate towards all for whom he entertained any value."

† Sir John Mitford, afterwards Lord Redesdale, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

‡ On Jan. 4th, Lord Grenville had transmitted to M. Talleyrand, Minister for Foreign Affairs in France, a note in reply to one which M. Talleyrand had sent to England by a special messenger, addressed to the King by Buonaparte in his character of First Consul. (In November the French Directory had been terminated, and by the Revolution known as that of the 19th Brumaire (Nov. 9), the Council of 500 had been dissolved by Buonaparte by force of arms, and the Government of the Consulate had been established, the three Consuls being Buonaparte, Cambacères, and Le Brun.) Buonaparte's letter professed a desire for "a general pacification;" and Lord Grenville's reply, though stating that "His Majesty saw no reason to depart from those forms which have long been established in Europe for transacting business with Foreign States," expressed an equal desire "for the reestablishment of secure and permanent tranquillity in Europe." The two letters are to be found in the Ann. Reg. for 1800; Buonaparte's in the History, Lord Grenville's among the State Papers in the Appendix.

accounts of Revenue and Trade. (Mr. Pitt said the account of Parliamentary Income would necessarily take time to prepare.) Tierney moved for several particular accounts respecting particular taxes and dealings with the Bank.

22*nd.*—In the House of Commons I moved for the expenditure and unfunded debt accounts, also for the further proceedings of the Treasury and Admiralty on the Finance Reports. Upon the Admiralty questions, some altercation took place between me and Wallace. Tierney moved a call of the House for 5th February. Ayes, 32; noes, 115.

24*th.*—I mentioned to Mr. Justice Le Blanc the subject of keeping affidavits at Judges' Chambers, and he agreed to the necessity of some better regulation.

27*th.*—The business in the House of Commons upon Buonaparte's overture was put off on account of Mr. Pitt's indisposition till Wednesday.

28*th.*—House of Commons. I moved for a more complete account of the Crown Revenues and Civil List. Also of the arrears and balances of public accountants, stating at the same time "that I had it in contemplation at some future time to propose some measures of the same sort as those which were adopted in the wars of King William and Queen Anne for charging public accountants with interest upon the public money remaining in their hands." Debate in the Lords on the King's message. Division, 92 to 6.

29*th.*—Mr. Pitt's illness continuing, the debate upon the King's message was put off till Monday next.

30*th.*—I went to the Speaker by appointment; we settled the plan for the Record Committee, the form of motion, &c.; and he proposed Luders to me as a sort of secretary to the Committee in the arrangement of their materials.

Monday, Feb. 3rd.—Debate on peace and war. The House sat till three. Division for negativing Buonaparte's overture, 265; against it, 64.

18*th.*—In the House of Commons, I moved the two concluding accounts of my annual series, viz. the

Public Funded Debt, and the progress made in its reduction. Also I moved for the inquiry into the state of the Public Records, which was well received on all sides of the House, as I perceived at the time, and heard also afterwards. The Master of the Rolls seconded it.

Names of the Committee: — Besides myself, the Master of the Rolls, Attorney General, Solicitor General, Lord Advocate of Scotland, Sir William Scott, Lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Douglas, Mr. Percival, Mr. Bragge, Mr. Hawkins Browne, Mr. Bankes, Mr. W. Vansittart, Mr. R. Ryder, Mr. Charles Yorke. Afterwards Mr. Rose, at his own instance, was proposed and added to the Committee, and upon a subsequent day, Mr. Williams Wynn.

21*st.* — Dr. Jackson* dined with us, and mentioned to me the Speaker's having formally declined Oxford, and that Thomas Grenville was likely to be elected with Sir William Scott upon the next vacancies for the university.

22*nd.* — Record Committee met at eleven at the British Museum, and proceeded from thence to visit the following offices: — Enrolment Office in Chancery; Six Clerks' Office; Report Office; Crown Office; Petty Bag Office; Examiners' Office; Rolls' Chapel; King's Bench Office, Temple; Prothonotaries' Office; Offices of Commissioners for auditing Public Accounts; Duchy of Lancaster; Duchy of Cornwall, Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, Pipe Office, Somerset Place; and the State Paper Office, Scotland Yard, and Treasury.

23*rd.* — Sir Francis D'Ivernois brought me the MSS. of a new work on the comparison of the expenditure of the British Monarchical Government, and the French Republican form. He received from me all the data upon the British expenditure; and I corrected many details in the constitutional part.

24*th.* — The Speaker settled that I should make my

* "At Westminster School I first became known to Dr. Cyril Jackson, then sub-preceptor of the Prince of Wales and afterwards Dean of Christ Church, to whose early kindness in directing my studies, and effectual exertions in securing my election for the University of Oxford, I am certainly indebted for the greatest portion of my success and happiness in life." — *C. A.* 1817.

own arrangements with the Post Office respecting the returns to the orders of the Record Committee. And I adopted Lord Auckland's proposal; to have them sent under cover to the Secretary of the General Post Office, marked at the corner, "House of Commons Record Committee."

Mr. Pitt opened the Budget, and proposed 39,500,000*l.* for the supply of the year (over and above interest and charges of the Public Debt), to be provided for by the ways and means following:—

Supply.		Ways and Means.	
Navy	13,619,000	Annual, in lieu of Land and Malt	2,750,000
Army, Ordinary	8,850,000	Lottery	20,000
„ Extraordinary	2,500,000	Convoy Tax	1,250,000
Ordnance	1,695,000	Income Tax estimated for 1800 at 7,000,000*l.* after deductions	5,300,000
Miscellaneous Services	750,000	Vote of Credit	3,000,000
Interest on Exchequer Bills	860,000	Surplus of Consolidated Fund	5,500,000
Deficiency on former grants	447,000	Bank for renewal of Charter	3,000,000
Deficiency on Land and Malt	350,000	Loan (besides Ireland)	18,000,000
Estimated Deficiency on Income Tax 1799	2,500,000		
Estimated Deficiency on Aids and Contributions	1,079,000		
Vote of Credit 1799 charged on Supply in 1800	1,914,000		
Subsidies	3,000,000		
Annual Fee Debt	200,000		
Surplus	1,736,000		
	39,500,000		39,500,000

Loan at 61 or at 62.

For 100 sterling	110 consols			68	4 0
	47 reduced			29	9 10
		98	18 11	97	13 10
	Discount	2	16 7	2	16 7
		98	18 11	100	10 5
Interest and charges on 15*l.* (three per cents.)				4	14 2¼
Total permanent charge on 5,000,000*l.* borrowed from the Sinking Fund					313,500
The rest, viz. 13,000,000*l.* charged on the Income Duty.					
Taxes, 5 per cent on Fees above 2*s* 6*d.*					130,000
„ British and Foreign spirits at 5*d* per gallon					220,000
					350,000

26*th.*—Went to the Levée. The King talked to me about promulgation, expiring laws, &c. &c. At half-past four the Record Committee met, and made orders for an account of the Hundred Rolls, and House Rolls, and copies of some of the special judgments of the Curia Regis in the Chapter House. Also for the delivery of Proceedings under Special Commissions, 1746, 1780, 1792–4–6–8, from Mr. Barlow and Mr. Knapp, for the purpose of placing them in the Baga de Secretis of the King's Bench Treasury.

28*th.*—House of Commons. Tierney's motion for declaring that it was neither just nor necessary to carry on the war for the restoration of monarchy in France. For it, 34; against it, 142.

Saturday, March 1*st.*—Met the Record Committee at eleven in Lincoln's Inn Library. Viewed the repositories in the office of the Masters in Chancery. Afterwards the offices of the Consistory Court of London, the Court of Arches; the Prerogative Court; Admiralty; Prize; and Delegates; the Heralds' Office; and the Tower.

5*th.*—Saw the Master of the Rolls and the Attorney-General and Dealtry and Barlow upon the subject of the Baga de Secretis, all of whom agreed upon the absurdity of Lord Kenyon's conduct. At the Crown Office I found Lord Chief Baron Parker's letter in 1750 speaking of the Attainder Records as fit to be deposited there, "for the benefit of the Crown, and such of His Majesty's subjects as may be interested therein." Also a note of depositing some of the Records of the Rebel Trials of 1746 in the Baga de Secretis, by Lord Chief Baron Parker in 1767, all the bags being brought there by an officer of the Court.

6*th.*—House of Commons. Report of Corn Committee considered. The Speaker at great length urged the making bread of the whole grain. Lord Hawkesbury moved the resolutions according to the Report of the Committee.

7*th.*—Sir S. Cotterell came to me respecting the

Return from the Privy Council; offered to me an order which Lord Chatham thought should have been addressed to him. Went in the evening to Lord Mendip's, and met Hatsell. He was now of opinion that the House of Commons would not call upon the Clerk of the Parliament for an account of Records in his custody (even such as did not belong to the Lords in their separate proceedings) without a message: and that the Committee could not order it.

8*th.*—By appointment called on the Speaker. Conversed upon intended alterations in the arrangement of fees and salaries to the Clerks and Officers of the House of Commons, including the Chairman of Ways and Means. Also discussed the points belonging to the Record Committee respecting Lord Chatham, Lord Kenyon, and the Chancellor. He wished the latter (respecting the Clerk of the Parliament) to be left for a few days till he could see Cowper and talk it over with him, but was quite clear for the power of the House or of a Committee, and seemed to think that to send a message was waiving the right.

This day the Records from over the ceiling of the House of Commons were removed into a Committee Room to be sorted.

9*th.*—Sir John Cox Hippesley came to relate the history of the King's pension to Cardinal York.

10*th.*—Planta brought the return of the British Museum. Met Rose at the House, and went through his Chapter House Return with queries and notes. He took it back to complete.

11*th.*—London Port Committee. Mr. Pitt attended. Agreed to give the Wapping Docks a compulsory clause for wine, brandy, and tobacco.

14*th.*—Dock Committee. Orders for Sheriffs of Scotland. House of Commons. Second reading of the Potato Bill. House counted out.

18*th.*—General Bentham told me Lord Spencer saw nothing in Sir Andrew Hammond's objections to his Dockyard Plan.

19*th.*—London Port Committee. Sent questions to the ship builders. Record Committee to view Records, &c., brought over from the House of Commons.

20*th.*—London Port Committee. The Speaker mentioned the difficulties persisted in by the Lords in acknowledging our order upon the Clerk of the Parliament.

21*st.*—Met Chinnery* and told him that I should want returns to the orders for accounts moved in January last. He promised them for Friday the 28th or sooner.

22*nd.*—I wrote to Rose to accelerate return of accounts moved by me in January, and for the further proceedings upon the Finance Reports.

25*th.*—Rose told me that there was no reason why the Accounts of Expenditure, Unfunded Debt, and Balances moved by me two months ago, might not have been presented at any time in three days. Nevertheless, only two of the eight sets of accounts have been presented in a complete state. He made excuses about the delays of further proceedings in the Finance Reports. I moved for a further account of Balances transferred from the late Auditors to the present Commissioners.

Tuesday, April 1*st.*—Went to the Speaker about the Clerk of Parliament. Now it is to be neither enforcing the order of the Committee, nor sending any message to the Lords.

2*nd.*—Spoke to Long about the Finance Accounts, and Tierney afterwards complained to the House that the delay was indecent and disrespectful.

4*th.*—House of Commons. The arrears and balances from five different offices were presented and ordered to be printed.

8*th.*—Called on Goodenough (Tax Office) about charging public accountants with interest.

* Mr. Chinnery's delays are accounted for in G. Rose's Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 486–96.

9*th.*—I saw Astle and Topham, who promised to proceed upon their order forthwith, respecting the selection of unpublished Records. Went to the Chapter House, where Caley, Hewlett, and Richards completed their search for the Hundred Rolls, which they found nearly complete when added to those in the Tower. Also examined some Assize Rolls of Richard I., King John, and Henry III.

16*th.*—London Port Committee. Sent invitations to architects to deliver plans and estimates for a new London Bridge.

17*th.*—Went to the Attorney-General and consulted him on the Attainder Records to be deposited with the Record Committee; and upon the Bill for charging public accountants with interest. Irish business put off.

18*th.*—Income Tax put off.

21*st.*—House of Commons. Irish Union. Debate till twelve. Division on agreeing to the first article, 234 against 30. In the morning went to the Speaker about my Public Accountants' Interest Bill. Also spoke to him about the message to the Lords, and about the Lord President of Session's letter to me in July, 1799, and about the delayed accounts.

22*nd.* — House of Commons agreed to the fifth and seventh articles of the Union. I wrote to Mr. Pitt about the Public Accountants' Interest Bill.

23*rd.*—London Dock Committee. House moved and carried a message to the Lords respecting Public Records; and brought back answer.

24*th.*—House of Commons. Union question put off.

25*th.*—House of Commons. Fourth article of the Union. Division on Grey's motion with a view to reduce 100 Irish members to 85; and to strike off 80 borough members. For it, 34; against it, 176.

28*th.* —I sent my Interest Bill to the Attorney-General. Wool Evidence in the House of Commons.

Thursday, May 1*st.*—Attorney-General and Lord

Advocate both agreed to the nature of my Interest Bill. Union; commercial article passed in the Committee.

2*nd*.—House of Commons. Report of Articles of Union. Division against them, 26; for them, 208.

4*th*.—Called on Bishop of Durham by appointment, who promised to fix immediately upon some proper mode of getting a return from the Church of Durham. Saw Sir Francis D'Ivernois; and Mr. Pitt's note advising him to proceed in the publication of his MSS. on the French finances under Buonaparte; including a chapter on the Comparative Economy of the British and French Governments.

5*th*.—House of Commons. Report of fourth and other articles, and address and message for a conference with the Lords. One division, upon one of Grey's amendments.

6*th*.—House of Commons. The Speaker (in a Committee upon the Enclosure Bills) opened his plan for limiting the emoluments of the Clerk and Assistant Clerk, after the expiration of the interest of the present patentee and reversioner (Hatsell and Ley), and appropriating the surplus to defray the extra allowance of the Speaker and other officers of the House, and to improve the situation of the inferior clerks.

7*th*.—The Speaker gave me the form of the motion which he wished to have made respecting the Clerks' fees, and I made the motion accordingly.

8*th*.—Attorney-General finally settled my Bill for charging Public Accountants, &c.; and showed it to the Solicitor-General, who saw no objection. Tyrwhitt Jones's motion for Peace. For it, 8; against it, 68.

9*th*.—Committee on Port of London at one. Proposed questions to Mr. Mylne. 1st. On the state of the River. 2nd. On the state of London Bridge. 3rd. On the effects of taking it away. Received a plan and estimate for an iron bridge from Mr. Telford of Shropshire, with additional proposal for embankments and wharves on each side of the river between Blackfriars and London Bridge.

Iron bridge four arches and two land arches . .	£204,000
Wharves and embankment, about	370,000
Excavating the river to 15 feet deep at low water .	50,000
Compensation	50,000
Temporary bridge	10,000

Committee on Public Records. Approved Wyatt's plan for fitting up repositories at Somerset House in vaults under the East Street. Ordered a plan and estimate for an office contiguous to the Chapter House. Conversation with Mr. Rose respecting measures on recommendations of Finance Committee. He took notes of matters to be done, as to Customs, Stamps, Scotch Assessed Taxes, Hackney Coach, &c., Offices, Pension Duty collection, checks on forage for uneffective horses, &c. &c.

Union amendments by the Lords considered, and agreed to, and ordered to be presented by four Privy Councillors, in conjunction with two peers named by the Lords. The King went out of town without waiting for them.

12*th*.—House of Commons. I gave notice of moving for leave to bring in a Bill for more effectually charging Public Accountants with interest. I wrote to Mr. Pitt with a copy of the Bill.

14*th*.—In the House moved for extraordinaries of the army expended in 1799.

15*th*.—At a review of the Grenadier Guards this morning the King was shot at, but the ball missed him and struck a Mr. Ongley within a few yards of him. In the evening, as soon as he entered Drury Lane Theatre he was fired at by a man with a pistol from the pit; the man was immediately secured.

16*th*.—House of Commons. Conference with Lords, and a joint address to the King on his safety.

The Judges desired me to think of a bill for preventing the mischief to parties from the use of stamps of an improper sort, though of duty equal to or beyond that required by law.—Ex. gratiâ: To enact "that if any instrument in writing, on which any stamp is

required by law, has been stamped previous to its execution with a stamp inapplicable by law to the sort of instrument, but paying an equal duty, or a greater duty than the proper stamp, such instrument may at any time be stamped with the proper stamp upon the duty being paid for the same, and a penalty of [treble] the amount of the duty."

19*th.*—I moved for leave to bring in the Bill for charging Public Accountants with interest.

20*th.*—In the House of Commons I presented my Bill.

21*st.*—Address of both Houses carried up.

23*rd.*—I went to the Levée. The Oxford University address was presented. House of Commons, Second reading of Public Accountants' Interest Bill. No opposition. I mentioned to Mr. Pitt my intention of moving clauses for allowing interest to Public Accountants, and for putting balances in suit, to neither of which he objected. I mentioned also Baker's intention to move a clause for charging interest in future upon the balance of accounts already settled, about which he hesitated.

The Lords this evening debated the Adultery Bill, and passed it by 77 to 69.

26*th.*—House of Commons. First reading of the Adultery Bill, and order for reading it a second time. For it, 150; against it, 38. Committee on Income Tax.

27*th.*—Committee on the Accountants' Interest Bill.

29*th.*—Pole Carew brought me the remarks of the auditors upon my bill.

30*th.*—House of Commons recommitted and reported Public Accountants' Interest Bill.

Thursday, *June* 5*th.*—House of Commons; London Bridge Committee. Report of Public Accountants' Bill; I added a clause requiring a list every session of cases in which the Crown interposed to stop the recovery of debts. Income Tax debate.

10*th.*—Record Committee; I read the heads of the

proposed Report. Adultery Bill thrown out on debate, 143 against 104.

13*th.*—Saw the Speaker. Supported his motion for a Bill to regulate the offices of Clerk and Clerk Assistant.

21*st.*—Received a letter from the Duke of Portland desiring me to support Colquhoun's Bill for the establishment of a Police on the Thames.

24*th.*—Union Bill passed the Commons.

26*th.*—Hatfield* tried at bar.

27*th.*—Debate on question for call of the House by Sheridan. For it, 27; against it, 124.

Tuesday, July 1*st.*—Settled the Thames Police Bill with the Attorney-General and Mr. Tomlins, and left the heads of it at Mr. Dundas's office. The Master of the Rolls gave me back the draft of my Record Report with his approbation. I sent one copy to Rose, and another to Hawkins Browne.

2*nd.*—The Royal Property Bill was read a second time. The Prince of Wales signified his consent by his Solicitor General (Sutton). The Attorney-General made an able argument for it.

4*th.*—At the Committee; read and agreed to the Reports on the Public Records. Presented the first. Mr. Secretary Dundas moved the preliminary resolutions on the Thames Police Bill.

9*th.*—Debate, Peace and War. On Mr. Western's motion for a Committee on the State of the Nation, for the Committee, 26; against it, 148: Mr. Pitt did not speak.

10*th.*—Light Horse Volunteers' Review. Drawing Room. The King told me "he had been fighting my battle; he had assured Herries that I was at the Review, for I was certain always to be doing my duty."

12*th.*—Douglas went with me to breakfast at Van-

* He was the man who had shot at the King at Drury Lane. He was proved to be insane.

sittart's, where we met Lord Hawkesbury, Ryder, Hawkins Browne, and Sir Andrew Hammond. Proceeded to London Bridge to view the proposed situation for a new bridge and its terminations on the City side at Angel Lane, and on the Borough side at St. Saviour's Church.

From thence went to the London Tavern, and met Mr. Pitt, Lord Spencer, the Chancellor, Mr. Dundas, Rose, Long, Steele, Sir Joseph Banks, &c. &c., and the Chairman and Directors of the Dock Company of the Isle of Dogs. Went afterwards in procession to see the first stone laid for the new warehouses; I carried Lord Spencer, Sir Andrew Hammond, and Douglas. We returned by water in barges, and I came back in a Trinity boat with Mr. Pitt, &c.

15*th.*—London Port Committee. Mr. Pitt came and discussed the various plans for London Bridge. It was agreed to report in favour of rebuilding the bridge above the present site, viz. in a line from St. Saviour's Church in the Borough, to Angel Lane on the City side. The bridge itself to be of iron, on the improved plan of the Sunderland Bridge (Burdon's at Wearmouth), with inclined planes added, parallel to the sides of the river, according to the plan suggested by Douglas and Telford. And the approaches, openings, and masonry to be executed by Dance.

Thames Police Bill went through a Committee.

17*th.*—At the House the Speaker communicated to me Mr. Pitt's assent and his own to a Commission for Records, &c., to Commoners only. Mr. Pitt delivered the King's answer to the Record Address.

18*th.*—At one went to the Committee for enlarging the House of Commons. In the House the Austrian Subsidy was voted; the Princess of Wales was in the gallery.

19*th.*—Got the Record Commission at the Duke of Rutland's Office, signed by the King, and countersigned by the Duke of Rutland. Met Mr. Pitt at the Committee for enlarging the House of Commons, and showed

him the Commission. Delivered it into the hands of the Speaker as First Commissioner.

Parliament was prorogued.

Out of town from July 24th to October 30th.

Dalrymple, the geographer, told me that it was now near three years since he had been appointed hydrographer to the Admiralty; and it was only within the last three months he had obtained leave from the Admiralty to prepare charts for the naval service.

At Heaton House, Lord Grey de Wilton showed me a lock of the hair of Edward IV., taken from the head of that king when his tomb was opened at Windsor in Lord Grey's presence. And another lock of the same king's beard. The first was bright brown, and the latter had a red cast, both apparently perfect and fresh.

To my great dissatisfaction, the Secretaries of State, finding that the Record Commissioners had called upon the State Paper Office for information, obtained Mr. Pitt's assent to their names being inserted in a new Commission jointly with the original Commissioners.

Woodley, Oct. 23rd.

My dear Sir,—I really cannot describe to you how much I feel hurt by the purpose of my troubling you with this letter. You may probably have heard that Mr. Pitt is unwell. He was considerably so last week, and having been urged to allow himself some respite from the pressure of public business, he came with me to Woodley on Friday last, where he has since remained. Sir Walter Farquhar, who came here yesterday from town with a disposition to induce Mr. Pitt to proceed immediately to Cheltenham or to Bath, was of opinion, as soon as he saw him, that he had received very material benefit from his excursion; and accordingly advised in the strongest terms that he should continue in his present quarters. Perfect ease and quiet seem to be the medicines of which he still stands in need (and I incline to believe the only ones) to enable him to meet Parliament with the full powers that the occasion calls for, &c. &c.

Most truly yours, Henry Addington.

Tuesday, November 4th. — Called on Mr. King, the American Minister, and left a note desiring an account of the Acts and Proceedings respecting numeration and registration in America. Also examined the Harleian MSS. respecting the population returns, 1603, &c.

5th. — Wrote to Mr. Pitt and the Speaker to apprise them of my intention to move for a Bill to ascertain the population of Great Britain.

6th. — Lord Hawkesbury and Vansittart came to me about the London Port Report. Saw France, and proposed the Statute business to him.

7th. — On my return home, I found a letter from Mr. Pitt (asking me to move the Address in consequence of the absence from London of Sir John Wrottesley, who was to have moved it; and to call upon him between three and five to talk it over). At half-past three I went to him. On my entering he received me very civilly, but said that the meeting was become in fact unnecessary, by the unexpected arrival of Sir John Wrottesley in town. He then proceeded to discuss the proposed Bill for ascertaining the population, &c., which he agreed to be a measure highly desirable; but only doubted how far it stood so immediately connected with the question of scarcity, as to make it fit to bring forward on the second day of the session, which would be intimating an opinion that this was considered as a sort of remedy for the prevailing evil: and that he should rather wish it to be postponed for a few days. I explained to him that my reason for bringing it forward so early was the disposition of people at present to accede to any measure having a tendency to furnish information, with the amount of the demand or the causes of the scarcity; and that, so far, this would show the *extent* of the *demand* for which a *supply* was to be made. That, although its result could not be known till the session was advanced, yet even the prospect of the ensuing year after the present short harvest, would make such information desirable. That it would also, by showing an increase of numbers beyond the

common calculations, show one of the causes of the dearness of provisions of late years, and strengthen the arguments for an increase of tillage: besides its ulterior uses in matters of War and Finance, as to positive information, and hereafter to show the increase or decrease of population whenever the same operation should be repeated. This was admitted, and I proposed to give notice on Friday next for the Tuesday following, and to ask Wilberforce to second it.

He then showed me the King's Speech, and stated to me the sum of the negotiations with France for an armistice; and we parted, with expressions of thanks to me for my willingness to oblige him upon the occasion on which he supposed he should have stood in need of my assistance.

8th.—Examined lists for the expiring laws and report, with Garratt.

11th.—The Session opened. The House of Commons met in the painted chamber. The Address, moved by Sir John Wrottesley, and seconded by Dickenson, was voted without a division. Sheridan, Sir F. Burdett, and Grey differed much with each other, and Tierney did not speak. Importation Bills were moved for, and others for stopping distilleries, &c., and notice given of moving for a Committee of Inquiry. Newbolt spoke to me about the Justice of the Peace's Penalty Bill, by the Chancellor's desire, and wished me to bring it forward. I spoke to Tomlins and France about the Statutes. Saw the Speaker in the morning, and settled the distribution of the Record Report.

12th.—I moved for Committee on Expiring Laws with instructions to state all temporary laws in force which had been enacted from the commencement of the reign of King William to the present time. Report of Address; Bills brought in, &c.

13th.—Newbolt and I conversed again about the Justice's Penalty Bill, and agreed to defer it till the United Parliament.—House of Commons. Committee on Expiring Laws. Agreed to two Reports. Scarcity

Committee met, the Ministers attended. Read the Government returns, and debated upon recommending an Address for a Proclamation on Frugality. House went up with the Address. The Negotiation Papers were presented.

14*th.*—Provision Committee. Examined members upon their knowledge of the produce of the crops. In the House I presented the two Reports on Expiring Laws, and gave notice of a Bill to ascertain the Population of Great Britain.

15*th.*—Corn Committee, which was attended by Pitt, Wyndham, &c.

17*th.*—Corn Committee. Read the Spanish Census with Francis Jackson. Sheridan's motion on the Negotiation postponed.

19*th.*—Wrote to Lord Carrington about the returns, not being to be made to the Board of Agriculture. In the House of Commons, moved for leave to bring in the Bill to ascertain the population of Great Britain.

20*th.*—Went to Mr. Pitt by appointment at eleven. Stayed with him nearly an hour: settled the questions and form of answer for the schedules of the Population Bill. In the House I presented the Population Bill. Read a first time. Ordered to be read a second time next Tuesday, and to be printed immediately.

22*nd.*—Corn Committee to settle Report. Mr. Pitt proposed statements assuming the population to amount to a number which he professed to be unknown but he hoped soon would be known.

25*th.*—Read Population Bill a second time. Not a word passed.

26*th.*—House of Commons. Corn Report considered. A debate and violent altercation between Wilberforce and Grey, &c.; I cleared the House, and the debate ended.

27*th.*—I saw Rose at half-past nine on the Population Bill. In the House of Commons, Tierney's motion for a Committee on the state of the Nation. Division at half-past one. For it, 37; against it, 137.

28*th.*—Spoke to Mr. Pitt on doubtful points in the schedules of the Population Bill, and settled them. Went through the Committee on the Bill *pro formâ*, to fill up blanks, &c. Reported it, and moved to print it as amended.

Monday, December 1*st.* House of Commons. Sheridan's motion on the French Negotiation. An excellent speech from Dundas. Division, 35 to 156.

4*th.*—House of Commons. Report on Population Bill recommitted.

5*th.*—House of Commons. Third reading of Population Bill. Carried it to the Lords. Mr. Pitt said he would speak to Lord Grenville about it. I saw Lord Hardwicke, and sent him a copy of the amended Bill with hints upon it.

8*th.*—Population Bill read a second time in the House of Lords. I talked with the Chancellor upon it, who spoke of it very favourably. The same day I received letters from the Lord Advocate*, with a representation by Dr. Blair, in the name of the Clergy of Edinburgh, objecting to the Scotch Clergy being employed in the execution of the Bill. I sent all the papers and letters to Mr. Pitt, with a note desiring his sentiments.

9*th.*—Mr. Dundas wrote to say he also had had a letter from the Advocate. I met him at the Corn Committee at one; and agreed to postpone the business till the next day, I not having received Mr. Pitt's answer. At three I received his note. Desired Lord Hardwicke to forward the Bill through the Committee, gave the amendments to Lord Walsingham, and wrote to Mr. Dundas. Another letter to me from the Lord Advocate, with clauses.

10*th.*—This morning I found that the Chancellor, notwithstanding Mr. Pitt's note to me, had objected to the clauses requiring the Scotch Clergy to act, had put off the Committee, and had carried away the

* Mr. H. Dundas. His letter, that of Dr. Blair, and the Representation of the Clergy, will be found at the end of the chapter.

Bill last night from the House of Lords: Cowper related this to me. I went to Lord Hardwicke to press the matter. He came to me from the House of Lords, and told me the Chancellor still persisted, and the Bill was again put off. The Chancellor had proposed to strike Scotland entirely out of the Bill. I wrote again to Mr. Pitt, enclosing the Amendments to the Bill as proposed by me; and also the Lord Advocate's clauses, desiring him to say what it was fit to do.

11*th.*—Mr. Pitt wrote to desire he might see me. And, when I went, he stated so much apprehension on the part of Mr. Dundas, about the averseness of the Scotch Clergy, that he thought we must give way to their prejudices however unreasonable. Accordingly, it was agreed that the Lord Advocate's two clauses should stand; and I gave them, with the Bill altered accordingly, to Lord Hardwicke for the Chancellor. But the Chancellor did not go into the Committee. The Master of the Rolls came to me about the Expiring Laws Committee, which must be continued into the next session.

12*th.*—This day the Population Bill went through the Committee in the House of Lords; but the alterations in the money clauses appearing to be such as must lose the Bill in the Commons, I wrote to the Chancellor in the evening stating the circumstance, and proposing to avoid that consequence by striking Scotland out entirely; he answered me at length, saying that the next day he should be down, and would do as I pleased.

13*th.*—At two I went to the Speaker, and agreed upon leaving out Scotland, &c.; but, when the Chancellor came to the House of Lords, he would not go into the report at all, nor agree to leaving out Scotland, but postponed the Bill till Monday, saying that the newspapers had some paragraphs about curates; and that Lord Grenville and Lord Spencer wished to see and consider the Bill, &c. All of which, *if it were true*, was very strange and inconsistent with his letter of the night before.

15*th.*—The Chancellor in the House of Lords put off the Report on the Population Bill till Wednesday, because (as he said) Lord Grenville had not read it.

16*th.*—Settled list of delivery of Record Report to Public Offices, and had the Speaker's authority to direct the issue; limited in the first instance to 220.

17*th.*—Saw Mr. Pridden, who agreed to be employed upon the Statutes. Saw Telford's plan for a bridge of *one* arch over the Thames. In the House of Lords, saw Lord Grenville, and settled with him the plan of amendments, and of a new Population Bill. He moved his amendments; and struck out the Clergy of England from any share in numbering the people, the Chancellor having struck out the Clergy of Scotland.

18*th.* — Corn Committee proceeded to forestalling, &c. In the House I moved to fill up the clauses in the Army Seduction Bill, by continuing it for the same duration as the Irish Act of the same nature; viz. to the 1st August, 1807. Upon this a debate arose, in which Hobhouse, Tierney, Yorke, Lord Hawkesbury, Ellison, the Attorney-General, and the Solicitor-General, spoke. It passed for my proposition without a division.

The Lords sent down the Population Bill with amendments.

19*th.*—Second meeting of Record Commissioners, at the Speaker's house. Ordered various matters to be set on foot, and, among the rest, appointed subcommissioners for Scotland, printers, &c.; and transfer of proceedings under special commission in 1794. Also ordered an authentic and complete edition of the Statutes to be prepared, and appointed eight subcommissioners. Ordered the printing of the House Rolls. Directed a request to be made to the Speaker to cause a selection to be made of Reports of the House of Commons not inserted in the Journals. And letters to be written to the two Archbishops to enforce the annual transmission of parish register copies to each diocesan or his chancellor, according to the canons of

1603, &c. &c. N.B. Also the Speaker delivered to our secretary, our first commission, to be exchanged against another (of the same date), including the three Secretaries of State.

In the House of Commons I moved for leave to bring in a new Population Bill, stating at the same time that I saw not any impolicy or impropriety in employing the Clergy; though the Lords had struck them out of the operative part of the Bill respecting the numbering of the people. Bill brought in and read a first and second time the same day. I wrote to the Lord Advocate on both subjects.

20*th.*—Grimwood came to me about the Reform of Exchequer Offices, and I gave him the draft of a Bill for enforcing the collection of fines imposed by Justices out of sessions; to be framed as a Bill for regulating the collection of the casual revenue of the Crown. Telford came about his plan and model for a bridge of one arch over the Thames instead of London Bridge. Vansittart wrote to desire the use of one of the rooms at the Royal Academy for the model to be set up in.

In the Corn Committee Mr. Pitt came to a Committee upon the Bread Bill: and we had a meeting with the American merchants. Nepean spoke to me in the House, to desire I would put off my motion upon the Dockyard Papers till Monday se'ennight; with a representation that they would in all probability be ready then. Population Bill committed and reported.

21*st.*—General Bentham came about Dockyards, &c.; to the same effect as Nepean's communication.

22*nd.*—Population Bill read a third time, and passed.

23*rd.*—I carried up the Population Bill to the Lords.

27*th.*—The Population Bill passed the Lords.

28*th.*—Met Wyndham, who talked to me upon the necessity which he felt for referring the plan of clothing the Army, and changing the Army Agency; in conformity with the measures recommended by the Finance Reports in 1798.

29*th.*—Corn Committee. In the House I gave notice of a motion next session, if necessary, for a detailed communication of the Admiralty proceedings and correspondence with their respective officers and subordinate boards, respecting the management of the King's Dockyards. Lord Arden said that such a report was prepared, and would be ready in a week.

31*st.*—The King closed the Session with a Speech from the Throne, adverting to the Union, and to the violent acts of Russia. Sleet and snow.

RECAPITULATION OF 1800.

House of Commons. In February, Fox came upon the question of treating for peace with Buonaparte, and upon no other occasion during the session. Grey came upon the Union only. Tierney attended throughout, and moved his Annual Finance propositions. Upon the opening of the session in November, all the Opposition came and attended regularly, except Fox.

The Union question upon the first article was carried by 234 to 30, on April 21st; and the last reading was carried on May 9th.

Letters on the Subject of Scruples entertained by the Clergy in Scotland on assisting in procuring Returns of the Population; and their Memorial expressing their Objections.

Edinburgh, Dec. 3rd, 1800.

Dear Sir,—I received yesterday, at the same time with the copy of your Bill, the enclosed representation from the Edinburgh Clergy, and a relative letter from the venerable Dr. Blair. I concur most heartily in what they have stated. The same objection was stated when I brought in the Militia Acts for Scotland, and the Ministers were immediately struck out of that Bill. The general odium which the Schoolmasters of Scotland incurred under that Act, proves the justice of the apprehensions

of the Clergy on the subject. The Presbyterian Church holds itself as entirely unconnected with all civil duties and employments; and reading a Royal Proclamation from their pulpits is, I believe, the only civil duty they ever perform. One or two instances have very lately occurred of their being put into the Commission of the Peace, but these were accounted improper, and some have, I believe, been expunged from subsequent commissions.

You can obtain your purpose as effectually by devolving the duty on the Justices of the Peace, and their constables, jointly with the Sheriff Depute and his substitute in the counties; and on the Magistrates of the Boroughs within their jurisdictions. They may be appointed to meet in a general meeting summoned for that purpose, and to employ their constables and officers to go through each parish or division of a parish, and to report to the next general meeting summoned on a day certain thereafter, to receive the schedules and reports. The clause as to payment of fees and expenses incurred under the Act (p. 7), should also be altered that the Sheriff should fix and ascertain and pay the reasonable expenses, and be empowered to charge these in his account annually passed in the Court of Exchequer at Edinburgh.

I remain with regard,
Your humble and obedient servant,
R. DUNDAS.*

My Lord,—I transmit to your Lordship a representation from the Ministers of Edinburgh respecting the part they are required to take in the Population Bill lately brought into Parliament; and I persuade myself your Lordship will find what they represent to be of sufficient weight to give them ground to hope for your interposal in their favour in this affair.

It occurs to me that the accounts given of the population of the different parishes of Scotland by the ministers who had the fullest opportunities of information in their respective districts, of the whole of which an abstract has been published in the Statistical Accounts, affords as much information as can now possibly be given by the Clergy; and as the Statistical Account has been given within the last eight or ten years past, the alteration respecting population cannot now be considerable. I should therefore imagine that as much information concerning

* Mr. R. Dundas was Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Scotland, and a cousin and son-in-law of Mr. Henry Dundas afterwards Lord Melville.

the inhabitants of Scotland as can well be expected is already before the public in the Statistical Reports.

I have the honour to be with the highest respect and esteem,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient, faithful, humble servant,
HUGH BLAIR.

Argyle Square, Dec. 2, 1800.

Edinburgh, Dec. 2, 1800.

The *Ministers of Edinburgh*, having met to take into consideration the parts assigned to the Ministers and Schoolmasters of Scotland by the Bill now depending in Parliament for ascertaining the population of Great Britain, unanimously agreed to *represent* respectfully to the Lord Advocate of Scotland, that, as far as they know, this is the first instance in which the Ministers of the Church of Scotland have, by an Act of the Legislature, been required, under pains and penalties, to execute a civil office; and that it may be regarded as tending towards an infringement of the constitutional privileges of the body to which they belong. Yet so anxious are they, in these eventful times, to strengthen the hands of Government, that, if no other objection lay against the measure of employing them in this service, they would have waived their privileges on this occasion, and have waited with submission for the orders of the Legislature. But they are deeply impressed by a persuasion that it would not be for the public good to commit this duty to their charge. Their influence and their usefulness, both as teachers of religion and friends of civil government, depend essentially on the harmony which prevails betwixt them and their people; and they have good reason to know that there are prejudices, at once of a religious and political nature, which would render it impossible for the Clergy to perform this service without giving great offence.

They believe at the same time that the object which the Act has in view, may be as effectually answered by the employment of civil officers, and without occasioning the evils which would result from employing either Ministers or Schoolmasters. The latter could, no more than the former, engage in this service without a material injury to the public interests. They would waste the time which should be devoted to professional duties, and would increase the odium which was unintentionally brought upon them by the Militia Act. The Ministers of Edinburgh therefore beg leave to represent further, that the

Registers of Births, Marriages, and Burials, to which the Clergy of Scotland have access by their situation, are, from the state of the law respecting registration, so extremely imperfect, that they could not afford any information that would answer the ends of political calculations.

On these grounds the Ministers of Edinburgh earnestly request the Lord Advocate to interpose his good offices, for the purpose of exempting the Ministers and the Schoolmasters of Scotland from the services proposed to be required from them by the Act above mentioned.

Signed in the name, and by appointment of the Ministers of Edinburgh.

HUGH BLAIR, D.D., Senior Minister of Edinburgh.

CHAP. XI.

1801.

MEETING OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT (THE FIRST OF THE UNITED KINGDOM). — DIFFICULTIES WITH THE KING ABOUT CONCESSION TO THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.—RESIGNATION OF THE MINISTRY.—MR. ADDINGTON BECOMES PRIME MINISTER.—SIR JOHN MITFORD BECOMES SPEAKER.—MR. ADDINGTON'S HIGH OPINION OF MR. ABBOT. — MR. ABBOT BECOMES CHIEF SECRETARY FOR IRELAND. — INCAPACITY OF THE REV. J. HORNE TOOKE TO SIT IN PARLIAMENT.

Thursday, *Jan.* 1*st.*—The King this day held a Council upon the Union to declare his titles, armorial ensigns, &c. The guns were fired at three.

17*th.*—Received a circular from Mr. Pitt respecting the meeting of Parliament. Also one from the Bishop of London about the defectiveness of the Parochial Registers, by their not noticing burials of sectaries in private burial grounds.

18*th.*—Topham came to me about the Archbishop of York's return to the Record Commission and Population Bill. Conversation with Mansfield, who proposed to me to bring in the Bill for Amendment of the Law, which was brought in by Lord Kenyon fifteen years ago. He agreed in the utility of the General Register Bill.

22*nd.*—In the House of Commons, Pelham and Yorke moved and seconded the appointment of the Speaker, who spoke in disqualification, though not declining. Wilberforce also spoke in testimony of the unremitting attention paid by the Speaker to private as well as to public business; and after the Speaker had returned thanks to the House from the chair, Lord Hawkesbury made some complimentary observations on the choice of the House, and moved to adjourn.

23*rd.*—Lord Kenyon told Dealtry that he had represented to the Chancellor and Lord Eldon how improper it was to take any account of the Records in the Baga de Secretis, and that they both agreed in the impropriety of it; but he supposed he must submit to superior authority. The Attorney-General afterwards told me that Lord Eldon had complained to him of the same thing, and in a way that made it necessary for him to have it explained to him.

In the House of Commons. The Roll of the House for England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland was called over once, and the members as they answered, were sworn at the table.

23*rd.*—Took the oaths in the House of Commons. Nepean told me the Admiralty Report on the Dockyards was signed; and Lord Spencer had spoken to have a day fixed for the Privy Council to take it into consideration. That the compensation to the shipwrights for chips would amount to 50,000*l.* a-year; and that it was not clear they would be satisfied with it. That the report was right so far as it went; and that it pointed at other radical changes which would be proper in time of peace: such as a different classification of officers amongst the artificers, &c. That it should be stated to be ready when the Navy Estimates were presented; and as soon as the Privy Council had ratified the Report, with or without alteration, it should be laid before the House.

26*th.*—General Bentham came to tell me the manner in which Lord Spencer had at last signed the Dockyard Report. The House of Commons went on swearing. Attorney-General told me he had sent the copy of our order respecting Baga de Secretis to Lord Eldon.

29*th.*—The King, who was to have opened the session, did not come.

Sunday, *Feb.* 1*st.*—Sturges* told me of his appointment to succeed Wickham.

* Afterwards better known as Mr. Sturges Bourne.

2*nd*.—House of Commons. Address on King's Speech. Grey moved an amendment for inquiring into our relations with the Northern Powers. Division —For Address, 245; against it, 63. Pitt unwell. Grant (Solicitor-General) made an admirable speech.

3*rd*.—Tierney moved some tax accounts; Hobhouse his annual account of increase or diminution of salaries of office, &c.

5*th*.—Saw the Speaker, and learnt the new arrangement. In the House I moved my annual set of accounts, except the defaulters; Sheridan's motion was postponed on account of Mr. Pitt's gout.

Minutes of what passed at the Speaker's:—

I went to give him the list of Public Libraries in the three Kingdoms where copies of all papers printed by order of the House of Commons should be deposited. I then settled with him the form of moving for a Committee for extending the promulgation of the Statutes to Ireland; and for an Address to have the Irish Statutes laid upon our table.

The Irish matters he wished me to defer till next week; and upon the report that Lord Liverpool was dead (which afterwards proved to be unfounded), he then proceeded to tell me what he had not then communicated to anybody but the parties concerned, and his own brother, and Bragge.

That, on Thursday last, the King had come to an explanation with his Ministers, who had pledged themselves, without his participation, for granting to the Irish Catholics a free admission to all offices and seats in Parliament; and for repealing the Test Act, &c.; and some project upon tithes that they had persisted in, and he had peremptorily refused to agree, saying that it was a question not of choice but of duty, and that he was bound by his coronation oath.

That on Friday evening he had sent for the Speaker, and desired him to undertake the conduct of affairs, &c.; that he (the Speaker) had endeavoured to reconcile matters, and that until the beginning of this

week there had been hopes, but all was now decided. The King had declared he would never part with Mr. Pitt if he would never press these points; but that Mr. Pitt as positively insisted upon them. That Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Wyndham were to go out. That the Speaker had communicated to them the whole, and all the letters that had passed; and that, with their concurrence and promise of support, he had consented to form an Administration of his own, as the best thing to be done, rather than drive matters to extremities and worse consequences. That he should want me as a colleague. I told him, on that point, that he knew my ways of thinking, and that I knew his principles and had the fullest reliance on them; and that he might be assured of my assisting him in any way in which he could make me useful.

He was determined that his Administration should be an independent one. Lord Eldon should have the Great Seal, and he should endeavour to persuade the Chancellor to take the Presidency of the Council, and if possible to make Grant abandon his profession and devote himself to politics, by making him Chancellor of the Duchy for life.

In the House of Commons he told me afterwards he had seen the Chancellor, who had only learnt the state of things the day before, and was all consternation, seeing the Government must be dissolved, without his knowing by what means it was to be supplied; and he begged the Speaker to dispose of him in any way that suited his other arrangements.

Feb. 6th. — I went to the Speaker in his room between three and four. He had again seen the Chancellor (but not yet Lord Eldon, matters not being yet so far advanced); that the Chancellor had proposed several persons, to none of whom had the Speaker agreed; saying, in general, that the description of persons to be selected must depend on character, talents, and their being his own personal friends.

He showed me a long letter from the King, dated

Feb. 5th (probably written on the 4th), promising him his fullest support, and his *affection:* speaking of the Duke of Portland's conduct on the occasion as extremely handsome, like all the rest of it since he had come into office; and with the King's letter was the letter itself from the Duke of Portland.

The King said he would speak to all his present ministers who were to go out, as that might make them accede more cordially to the change. That he wished the Speaker to take his own time to make his arrangements, promising to ratify them; and that he should claim it of Mr. Pitt to remain till the whole was settled.

That he (the Speaker) had spoken to Pelham, and Yorke, and Mitford, fully; that he meant Pelham to be Secretary of State for the War Department, Steele to be Secretary at War, Ryder to be Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Macartney to take the Indian Board on an understanding that he was to keep it till Lord Wellesley's return. That the Duke of Montrose or Duke of Buccleugh should manage for Scotland, and in Westminster Hall, if Grant was removed, then to make Law* Attorney-General, and Percival Solicitor-General. He should wish to make Lord Chatham Clerk of the Pells (if Barré died), and perhaps send him to Ireland.

That Lord Cornwallis† and Lord Camden were so much implicated in the Catholic business that they could not be employed. That Lord Westmoreland must remain Privy Seal, as the line taken was to remove none but those whom the cause of change required to be removed. That Mr. Pitt had desired him to be kind to Canning, which he had promised in the fullest manner (this, indeed, he told me yesterday); but to-day he said Canning had declared his resolution to go out.

* Afterwards, as Lord Ellenborough, Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

†. At this time Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. His correspondence was lately published.

He did not say who were to be Speaker, Treasurer of the Navy, or Paymaster.

He then said to me that he meant that I should have a seat at the Treasury Bench, with his brother. To this I replied that I was grateful to him for thinking of me in such a way, but that I was apprehensive that it was a situation quite inconsistent with my office in Westminster Hall. He said "Not at all," that I attended there only during term, and the rest might be easily managed. But I took up the subject again afterwards, and told him I could only state it as a matter of *feeling*, and that to my feelings it was a situation incompatible with my present and former habits of life; and that, so far as I had any choice, I should have preferred anything more immediately connected with my profession.. The subject then changed, and he went to the House.

'In the House I moved for the Accounts of Arrears and Balances of Public Accountants, and gave to Lord Castlereagh copies of the motions for Irish Accounts, which I meant to move for next week.

In the evening at seven o'clock I wrote to the Speaker, stating that "further consideration had strengthened the impression of my first feelings: that I was satisfied that my present situation and the other which he had had the goodness to propose to me were entirely incompatible and inconsistent in character, that my own peculiar circumstances would render it impracticable for me to relinquish my present office for the other, and that two such offices were never yet holden together by the same person. But that he might be assured that, in stating this to him without reserve, I should be equally (or if possible more) desirous than ever, either in the House or out of the House, by taking any part which he might think useful to the common cause, at all times and at all hours, to promote the success and stability of all his plans and measures; as I was satisfied that nothing else could at present save us from the worst of evils," &c. &c.

7th. — In the King's Bench, Mitford (Attorney-General) desired at the Coffee House to speak to me apart.

He supposed I knew all the changes which were likely to take place so unfortunately; that it was a time when all persons who wished to prevent matters from being worse must be called upon, each in their way, to sacrifice their particular views, and undertake situations where they might best serve the public. That it had been proposed to him to quit his profession and his office, which for other reasons, as he had no longer Mr. Pitt to rely on, he should be the less unwilling to do, although to do it unnecessarily would be unfair. That it had been proposed to him to be Speaker, a situation indeed which Hatsell had advised him to think of several years ago, when the election of the present Speaker took place; but that his then situation in his profession made it quite unadvisable to him, especially knowing that Addington was then thought of. That at present even he felt it irksome and contrary to his feelings, to forego all the qualifications which he had been for so many years labouring to acquire, in order to fill some judicial office, having particularly had in view the Mastership of the Rolls. And that he was aware that the Speakership was a far less certain and independent office. Even now, however, he should wish to know the disposition of the House towards himself, and how far any body else might have been thought of. That he did not think it so arduous a place as some persons chose to represent it, and he was of opinion it only required diligence, civility, and firmness. And that* Michael Angelo would have done nearly as well as anybody else. That the present change was so sudden and unexpected that he did not suppose anybody else could have had this office in contemplation, or could have been thought of for it.

I then told him of the offer made to me; and the

* Afterwards known as Mr. M. A. Taylor.

grounds of my refusal, to which he perfectly assented. I told him that my object had been to employ my time in such pursuits as would be most useful to the public and creditable to myself; but such a place as a Lordship of the Treasury would be ridiculous for me in my situation, and that I could not there be of any use whatever; my tongue would be tied; and so I had sent back the 1500*l.* a-year.

He said he was at present disposed upon the whole to accede to the proposal made to himself, although he should no longer, by his change of habits, be able to accumulate a fortune as he was now doing, but that he was a single man; and his brother's children were all sufficiently provided for.

The Chancellor was then coming into Court, and so we parted.

8*th.* — After breakfast I went to the Speaker. I explained to him the circumstances alluded to in my note, respecting the state of my private fortune and the income of my office.

He said my office was the only embarrassment, or he would make me a Privy Councillor to-morrow; that I must however come forward; that I must support him, and sit by him, and be in his most intimate confidence; and he must endeavour to make me amends by greater things afterwards. Mitford was to be Speaker, but that might not last long, and he wished me to look to the Chair; that was my point and everything favoured it.

That the Master of the Rolls was to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas with a peerage whenever it became vacant. This had been settled when Lord Eldon was appointed, although Mr. Pitt could never be prevailed upon to tell Mitford of it.

I then said Mitford had mentioned to me the Speakership &c.; but that he should certainly prefer the Chief Justiceship of the Common Pleas, and that the place he thought himself best of all qualified for was the Rolls. I told the Speaker that for his own

sake he must oust the Cardinal de Retz (meaning the Chancellor) from his Cabinet, or he would prove an insidious foe; that I had no doubt he was affecting to coincide with the Speaker in opinion merely to keep his own place.

The Speaker then said he was actually going this very morning to take a step towards that point: and that he was afterwards to see Lord Eldon. And if that step succeeded, Mitford must be placed at the Rolls, and the Chair would be open to me at once.

He was also to see Grant, and Lord Hawkesbury, and Lord Hood; and Vansittart was then waiting for him. He had his dinner of twenty-six people yesterday, all of whom knew the state of things, and behaved in a most satisfactory way, except Canning, who was evidently dejected and sullen. Mr. Pitt was to dine with him *tête-à-tête* to-day; and in the evening he was to have his levée.

In the course of this day the outline of the arrangement became generally talked of.

9*th*.—I went to the Speaker at half-past ten. Prince William came while I was there: also Grant, Law, Lord Glenbervie, Lord Arden, &c., came there.

The Speaker told me he had yesterday carried his point completely, of removing the Chancellor by his own act and consent. Lord Eldon had accepted the Great Seal: Grant was to be Master of the Rolls: Mitford Speaker: His Honour (Sir P. Arden) to be a Peer* and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; Law, Attorney-General, and Perceval, Solicitor-General; Lord St. Vincent, First Lord of the Admiralty (probably); that Dundas had implored the continuance of Huskisson; I told him on Wickham's authority that Huskisson and Talleyrand employed the same stockbroker during the negotiation at Lisle; he was struck with it. He added that Wickham was an able man, and he should try to employ him. Steele was to remain in his pre-

* He was created Lord Alvanley.

sent situation. Yorke to be Secretary at War. Pelham had declined.

He said to me that, sorry as he should be to part with me, he wished Lord Hardwicke to go to Ireland, and me to go with him as his friend and adviser. That the scene was great, and the business would be to render the nominal union a real union. That I might afterwards come back at the end of a year or two, and be ready for anything. I told him all this was very novel; that I could not relinquish my present office without some adequate provision. He said Mr. Pitt did not see the difficulty as I did, and that I should be glad to know that Mr. Pitt had the highest opinion of me. I said that Mr. Pitt could not judge of my peculiar situation as I must, living as I did, in the focus of Westminster Hall, and that I felt that I could not hold together that office and such other appointments as were proposed to me.

At the House, after prayers, the Speaker told all his friends that this was the last day of his being Speaker. I had a short conversation with him: I said, that I had better tell him at once fairly, that I had made up my mind about the banishment to Ireland. That I could not afford to quit my present independence and permanence, without an equivalent as permanent, and that I knew he had not the means of giving it to me; that even if he could, I should look upon it as a sacrifice, but nevertheless a sacrifice I would willingly make for him, though for no other minister. He said he was truly sensible of this, and he supposed I should prefer being made useful at home. He wished, he said, very much to talk more with me about myself. I then added, "Sir, it is possible whilst you are in power that the Chief Justiceship of Chester may become vacant in the course of time; if it does, I hope you will not let it go to anybody else, and that you will speak to Lord Eldon in time to prevent other engagements." He said he was greatly obliged to me for mentioning it, and would not forget it. I followed this by saying that it was not impossible,

from Burton's increasing blindness, that in ten weeks, or ten days, he might be desirous of resigning his Judgeship; in which case I hoped he would let me have it. He repeated that he thanked me very much, and perceived that I should like some appointment consistent with my profession.

In the House there was the fullest attendance I ever saw; before four o'clock about 350 members; everybody talking and inquiring about the change, and the Speaker receiving congratulations. Sir John Anderson said he had been up to the Speaker, and in shaking him by the hand, said, "Sir, I cannot do as others are doing, give you joy; for I pity you sincerely." To which the Speaker replied, "It was too late now to look back, he must go forward and surmount the difficulties before him." The Speaker afterwards told me Plumer* (in Opposition) had gratified him much by saying, "*Nobody*, Mrs. Addington excepted, could rejoice more than he did in the Speaker's elevation." Afterwards, within the same quarter of an hour, Plumer said to *me*, "He was surprised and greatly concerned at all that had happened; and that he had no idea of the Speaker for a Chancellor of the Exchequer, or as a man fit to take Mr. Pitt's place." Baker, who came into the House from the country, on hearing from me the outline of the new arrangements, said this ministry could not last a fortnight. Vansittart, the new Secretary of the Treasury (vice George Rose), said he would go to Botany Bay willingly to bring the last ministers back again. Sir Robert Buxton said, for his part, he wished he himself had no business to be in the House.

General Gascoigne moved for a call of the House that day three weeks. Sturt postponed his Ferrol motion till Thursday; neither Mr. Pitt nor Mr. Dundas being in the House. Grey gave notice of a motion for this day se'nnight upon the state of the nation. Some ordinary business was gone through respecting the standing orders. I moved for copies of the proceedings of the Admiralty and Treasury upon the Finance Reports.

* Afterwards Master of the Rolls.

I never saw greater trepidation in the House, or more anxiety and concern on the Ministerial side, or more eagerness on the Opposition side.

'10*th*.—The Bishop of Gloucester called upon me, on the returns of registers under the Population Act. The Bishop of Durham spoke to me on the same subject in the House of Lords. I advised them to let the Archbishop of Canterbury settle it with Lord Auckland.

In the House of Commons, at four o'clock, the House being very crowded, Mr. Pitt came in. Mr. Ley, the Clerk, desired gentlemen to take their places: he then read the Speaker's letter of resignation, and Mr. Pitt immediately rose and said "That he had His Majesty's commands to desire the House would proceed to the choice of a new Speaker; and for that purpose he should now move to adjourn until to-morrow." Sir Wm. Pulteney (who had risen at the same time with Mr. Pitt) then proceeded shortly to state his regret on the resignation of the Speaker from the Chair which he had filled so ably and impartially without making a single enemy; and he did not doubt that he would carry into any other public station the same integrity, and never deviate from it. The House adjourned.

In the House of Lords, Lord Darnley having on a former day summoned the Lords for a motion to dismiss ministers, a conversation now arose about putting it off; in the course of which Lord Grenville came in, and stated the cause of the resignation on the Catholic question; his gratitude to his Sovereign and to that House for their indulgent kindness and support during his official service; and that he and his colleagues were resolved to give to their successors a constant, complete, and efficient support, so long as they pursued the same course of public policy, as had hitherto prevailed. Lord Spencer spoke to the same effect. The Lord Chancellor and Lord Westmoreland intimated that they were of a different opinion on the Catholic question

from the preceding speakers; but the Chancellor hinted he should not remain in office.

Lord Holland, and Lord Moira, Lord Carlisle, Lord Radnor, and Lord Suffolk spoke violently on the present change of ministers as a feeble and wretched succession; and Lord Holland having spoken vehemently for Catholic Emancipation, he was answered intrepidly by Lord Clare.

In a conversation to-day between Dundas and Lady ——, he said the King had been long adverse to the Catholic Question; he had said to Mr. Dundas at his levée, "those who are friends to it might be his personal enemies: and he hoped others would rally round him, who were not infected by these factious principles." Mr. Dundas replied, fearing at the same time that the bystanders would hear it all, "that the King could not have reason to think the ministers factious; but they would write to him." The King replied that "they might save themselves the trouble." And in point of fact the King has never seen his ministers upon the point, but they have all written to him without effect; and so they resigned.

N.B.—To me it appears, upon the Speaker's representation, and also on Lord Grenville's speech, and on Dundas's anecdote, that the ministers were absolutely unjustifiable in resigning upon such a point, when the King was ready to go with them in the defence of the country in its present constitution of Church and State. Considering that the ministers leave the country surrounded by domestic difficulties, and a new accumulation of foreign wars; and know that the alternative is a factious ministry, or such an intermediate administration as must proceed on the former system without equal means to maintain it.

11*th*.—At four o'clock, the House being extremely full, Lord Hawkesbury rose to propose Sir John Mitford for Speaker, and Hawkins Brown seconded him; Sheridan proposed Charles Dundas, who was ineligible, not having taken the oaths. Mr. Pitt replied to

Sheridan with a panegyric on the proposed candidate, and on the late Speaker, of whom he said "he doubted not he would with the same character discharge the duties of every office in which he should be placed." Nichols spoke in commendation of Mitford, and so did Martin. He was led to the chair and thanked the House; afterwards Lord Arden moved the adjournment.

At the Ancient Music, the Master of the Rolls told me that Mr. Pitt had had a long audience of the King to-day, and that he had not had any audience* whatever throughout the whole of their difference on the Catholic Question. Lord Castlereagh told me in the House that he had put my motions in the hands of Mr. Corry, who was more familiar with those matters than he was.

12*th*.—This morning at nine I received a verbal message from Mr. Addington, desiring to see me on my way to Westminster Hall. He said, "he wished to see me; Lord Hobart was Secretary of State for the War Department; Pelham, after twice refusing, had consented to become a part of the Administration; he had said he would not at first stand in the way of the former ministers returning; but that point being now fixed, he was ready to serve; he would probably be at the Board of Control."

I said, "This sort of conduct nevertheless deserves to have a note put upon it." Mr. A. said, "I told him that I myself had not acted till Mr. Pitt had declared his intention of retiring to be fixed and irrevocable; and if I had suffered two days to be lost, the whole would have been over."

He then said to me, "We must have you with us: I cannot do without you, and I know your wish is to do whatever may be useful." To this I bowed (but I believe with some apparent reserve). He then said, "My wish is that Vansittart and you should act together, and that the office of Secretary to the Trea-

* This statement is corroborated by Lord Malmesbury in his Diary, vol. iv. p. 3; and generally the facts here recorded and the opinions here expressed tally with Lord Malmesbury's statements, pp. 2–10.

sury might be made very respectable; and that in our hands he should be sure no jobs could get in. It was a situation that he was ready formerly to have taken under Mr. Pitt." I objected that I could not accept the sort of situation, and that it would not be such as I should choose.

He said again, "If I refused it I should have a seat at the Treasury Board, and that Lord Grenville did not feel my objection any more than Mr. Pitt." I said my objection was this, "That I had no power to act by deputy, and that character (the little I had of it) was the only thing I had to stand upon in the world; and that I would not be the first person to turn an efficient office in Westminster Hall into a sinecure."

He said, "That made the whole difference; but he and the others had thought I had the power of acting by deputy."

After which he went on to say "That he had taken steps for me about the Chief Justiceship of Chester; he had mentioned me to the King, and had *abused* me. That the King was very desirous that I should be noticed. That the King, seeing he had something on his mind, had pressed him to say what it was; and he had deposited with the King my wish. That the King had asked whether Mansfield was sick: "Is he sick? Is he sick? Is he sick?" Mr. A. had said "No," but this was a sort of object which he had understood to be consistent with my other views.

The King said, "There is Burton, would he like to have his office? would he like to be a Welsh Judge?"

Mr. A. then said Lord Glenbervie had been waiting for him an hour, and he had a letter from the King; and rose.

I then interposed and said, "That at all events these things were very distant. But I wished him to understand that I was not the only person who would not make sacrifices upon the present occasion, and I would go to Ireland if I could be useful there on a larger scale than in these little places. I would not desire a

Scotchman's equivalent, but I could not quit the independence I had without some certainty of a subsistence afterwards. That there was much to be done in Ireland, and that if I went I would do it manfully." He said he was sure of that, and he would talk to me more of these things. He was heartily glad I had said so much; he would keep this open; but that I must not depend upon its being Lord Hardwicke; it might be Lord Winchelsea who was to go." I said (I think incautiously), "That would not be so material to me, as it must be a person chosen by him as fit for the situation." As we were at the door he said he very much wished I would come and be with him in their phalanx in the House. I said, "I thought not; he must recollect that other persons had formerly given offence by sitting in too forward a situation by Ministers." He said, "He only meant within reach of a word or two in the course of debate." I said that I really thought otherwise, and until I was ostensibly a Member of Administration, I was a more useful friend in my usual seat." To this he then assented. He then showed me the King's letter to him of this morning, expressing his satisfaction at the matter of Sir John Mitford's election to be Speaker. He said Lord Glenbervie had hinted at Ireland, but Mr. A. had blocked that out completely. He doubted about placing him at the Indian Board, knowing his merits, but not liking the probable effects of his Scotchness.

House of Commons at four. The Black Rod came and ordered the House to attend the Commissioners in the House of Peers. The Speaker elect went up and acquainted the Lords Commissioners that the election had fallen upon him. The Chancellor read a message; and then the Commission was read: the Chancellor then addressed Sir John Mitford; to which he replied, with due acknowledgments of His Majesty's favour.

In the House I moved an Address for a printed copy of the Irish Statutes, and gave notice of a Committee on the Promulgation to Ireland. A debate afterwards

took place about the Cold Bath Fields prison; and a division, 40 to 23.

13*th*.—I wrote the following letter to Mr. Addington.

My dear Sir,—If you wish me to think seriously of going to Ireland, I shall be very glad to know your final determination as soon as circumstances enable you; for of course many of my own arrangements must depend upon it, and some of them that cannot conveniently be settled on the sudden.

The country itself is by no means new to me; I have travelled over the whole of it, north and south: I have seen the manners of it in families of every description, and have long been familiar with most of the ordinary questions concerning its internal policy: but as these were to me only objects of curiosity hitherto, I should be desirous of informing myself more extensively and accurately of the details of its government by confidential intercourse with the best informed persons here, in the short interval that might take place before I went there.

I am certain that I need not dwell upon the necessity of giving adequate power and support to all those who will be interested in establishing the tranquillity of that country and promoting its civilisation and internal prosperity, so as to give us a real union, by imparting to Ireland the blessings of a British government; and with such views and such aids I doubt not that Ireland, which has hitherto recollected with gratitude the prosperity which attended it under Lord Strafford's vigorous and prudent administration, would have to acknowledge yours as the continuation of this present constitution, and the source of greater blessings to come.

Charles Abbot.

Received a note from Hiley Addington, appointing me at nine in Palace Yard: I went.

He first showed me a letter from the King, saying he thought it would be more creditable to me to resign my situation in the King's Bench upon my appointment to be Secretary of State for Ireland, and that Mr. Addington might give an intimation to Lord Kenyon, which would facilitate the appointment of some creditable successor to me.

He then told me he had shown my letters to the

King; that the King highly approved of my being appointed to be Secretary of State for Ireland, and to hold Lord Castlereagh's situation; that I should immediately be made a Privy Councillor; and that, to ensure me an independence, there were two offices for life, namely, the Duchy of Lancaster and the Clerkship of the Pells, and if I pleased I might have the Pells: only deducting its amount out of my appointments of my office of Secretary of State, &c., so long as I held it.

I said that was what I myself should prefer; it was all I wished for: I only wished when out of office to find such a retreat as the Pells, which would put me back upon the same footing of independence as I was about to quit. He said the appointment of Secretary, &c. was from 4000*l.* to 5000*l.* a year; that I must be in England during the session, and do the Parliamentary business of Ireland; that I should have an office for the purpose to attend to; and after each session I should go over to Ireland and make that my country house.

That Sir C. Stuart was to be Commander-in-Chief in Ireland; but it was not yet settled who should be Lord-Lieutenant: either the Duke of Montrose, or Lord Winchelsea, or Lord Hardwicke. He then made me write down the names of the Cabinet and all the subordinate arrangements.

CABINET.

Mr. Addington	First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer.
Lord Eldon	Lord Chancellor.
Duke of Portland	Secretary of State, Home.
Lord Hobart	" War.
Lord Hawkesbury	" Foreign.
Lord St. Vincent	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Lord Pelham	President of the India Board.
Lord Chatham	President of the Council.
Lord Westmoreland	Privy Seal.

SUBORDINATE APPOINTMENTS.

Charles Yorke	Secretary at War.
Lord Glenbervie with Mr. Steele.	Joint Paymasters, Lord G. to undertake the Privy Council business and Parliamentary Researches.
Lord C. Spencer and Lord Auckland	Joint Postmasters.
Lord Arden	Master of the Mint.
Adams and Garthshore	Lords of the Admiralty.
Hiley Addington and Vansittart	Secretaries of the Treasury.

He showed me a singular correspondence with Canning, who had acted most absurdly, and put himself completely in the wrong.

Mem.—The King said to Hiley Addington, at the Drawing Room, "The opposition should, for their own sakes, have proposed Mr. Abbot; and, if they had, how would you have voted?" Upon this the remark made by Mr. Addington to me was, "You may guess by that how the King knew my wishes to have been." This circumstance satisfies me that, after the Speakership had been held out to me, it was against Mr. Addington's wishes that I was put by; and by some incident, unknown to me, which must have happened in the course of Sunday last.

14*th.*—At twelve I met Corry (the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer) and Beresford (first Commissioner of Revenue), and went through the heads of my motions on Irish Finance.

16*th.*—Mr. Addington proposed that my writ should be moved on Thursday next: as to Ireland, he said it lay with the Duke of Montrose, who was to give his answer to-day. I said I had not talked of my own appointment; but he desired I would not deny it. I told him I hoped he would mention to the King what concerned me and the Pells, which he said he would do. He showed me a note from the King, who was confined to his bed by a severe cold.

In the House of Commons Horne Tooke took his seat for Old Sarum; and Lord Temple gave notice that

if no petition against it was presented within fourteen days, he should submit a motion upon the incapacity of Mr. Tooke to sit in that House, he being in priest's orders. Upon the question of Army Estimates and the Speaker's leaving the chair, a debate arose, in which Harrison, Hobhouse, Whitbread, and Sheridan opposed it: Mr. Pitt, Dundas, Sir Robert Buxton, and Hiley Addington for it. Mr. Pitt said that whether he should hereafter support the measure (of Catholic Emancipation), which he had thought it his duty to propose to the Crown for its sanction, depended upon the views he might entertain of its affecting the tranquillity of the kingdom, if proposed in any other way.

17*th.*—House of Commons. The Speaker thanked Mr. Addington from the chair; when Addington replied. He came at four o'clock unexpectedly, and went away immediately afterwards. Lord Hardwicke's opinion is in favour of the Catholic Emancipation, and repeal of the Test Laws, &c.: but not for trying it now, against the positive refusal of the executive Government.

18*th.* — I went to Mr. Addington at ten. He said he had an hour and a half's conversation with the King yesterday. He had deposited with him my arrangement for the Pells, saying that he thought it necessary to do so, in case anything should happen to himself. The King entirely approved of it; he said there was only one other mode of disposing of the Pells which could have been equally gratifying to him; namely, either to Colonel Addington or Mr. Bragge, if their cases had required it. Mr. Addington then told the King that it was proposed for me to hold the Pells in part of any other appointment I might hold from the public, and in reduction of the public charge *pro tanto*, exactly as Lord Grenville held the auditorship of the Exchequer. That my object was to find myself hereafter (if out of other offices) upon a footing of independent provision, not worse than that which I quitted in the law; and that I relied for that on his Majesty's

justice. That the price which I might receive upon the sale of my office would in part be sunk in necessary equipment, and the rest was a separate advantage for my family, not more than was reasonably just, considering the sacrifice I had made in parting with an office, comparatively of ease, for another of so great labour and responsibility. He then said that the Duke of Montrose having declined the Lord-Lieutenancy (though in the handsomest way), on account of his opinions upon the Catholic Question, he had proposed it to Lord Winchelsea. Upon their interview, Lord Winchelsea had said that, from the first rumour of the change, his own thoughts had been turned to consider in what way he might be of any use to Mr. Addington; but for the Lord-Lieutenancy he felt himself so entirely unfit, that he should ever reproach himself if he undertook it, and should not have any peace of mind upon it. I then told him of Lord Hardwicke's visit to me yesterday; his thoughts, his discussions, and his apparent willingness to go. And Mr. A. then said he thought it would now do, but he must take the King's pleasure upon it to-day. That until the Lord-Lieutenant was appointed, my appointment could not be declared, nor writ moved for, &c.; but so soon as he knew I should know.

He said that in forming his Administration and appointments his line had been this: not to require any pledge upon the *principle* of refusing further indulgence to the Catholics, &c.; to erect no standard of proscription against any men upon the *abstract question*, or on the propriety of doing more for the Catholics *hereafter;* but that it was enough for Ireland and at home to be of opinion, that *now* was *not* the time, nor these the circumstances, for entering upon any such change.

CHAP. XII.

1801.

MR. PITT (THOUGH OUT OF OFFICE) PROPOSES THE MEASURES OF SUPPLY WHICH HE HAD ARRANGED. — LORD HARDWICKE BECOMES LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND. — THE KING ILL. — IDEA OF A REGENCY. — CONDUCT OF THE PRINCE OF WALES. — ROMAN CATHOLIC MEETINGS IN IRELAND. — THE KING RECOVERS. — WEAKNESS OF MR. ADDINGTON'S MINISTRY, AND PROPOSALS FOR A COALITION. — DUNDAS'S PROPOSAL FOR PITT TO RESUME OFFICE.

HOUSE of Commons. Mr. Pitt opened the Budget for a loan of 25,500,000*l.*, on account of Great Britain, which he had negotiated in the ninth year of the war at 5¼ per cent., and even for this large loan at these low terms, two sets of bidders had offered. The taxes to defray the interest (viz., 1,794,000*l.*) were upon tea, paper, printed cottons, sugar, timber, pepper, fruits, horses, stamps, and Post Office.

No Opposition Member made any comment whatever upon the taxes, and they seemed to meet with general approbation.

20*th.* — Mr. Addington sent to desire I would ask Lord Hardwicke, if he would go to Ireland in case he was asked. I went, and Lord Hardwicke consented upon all the public grounds, viz., that he was against *now* agitating the question, reserving himself for other times and circumstances upon the principle; and holding, that peaceful acts and peaceable demeanour were to be the future claims for such a boon as the Catholics were now expecting. That he desired no further honours, &c. Reserving himself only for further deliberation with Lady Hardwicke on domestic considerations of family, &c., for which purpose he sent an express to bring her to town. I repeated this to Mr. A.

21*st*. — At night Lord Hardwicke sent me a letter, to inform me that he had agreed to go to Ireland.

22*nd*. — Saw Lord and Lady Hardwicke. Mr. Addington had told him that he had proposed the Lieutenancy to Lord Chatham; and that he, from the very first, had thought of Lord Hardwicke, if circumstances should permit him to propose it. That his nomination was approved of by all the Cabinet Ministers; that he was probably to go in a month.

I met Lord Auckland, who said the Bulletin at the Queen's House was, "that the King had had a cold, and an indifferent night, and was a little feverish." He said, he thought this was an ill-sounding account, considering the King's constitution.

23*rd*. — I went at half-past nine to Mr. Addington. He said, that Lord Lewisham (who had sat two years on the Secret Committee on Indian affairs, and who had been offered the Government of Bengal by Dundas), had accepted the Board of Control, and was to be called up to the House of Lords. He then said, "This was all the good: now for the bad."

The King had been apparently much hurried last week; and Dr. Gisborne had given him James's powders on Monday last for his cold. He had seen Mr. Addington every day, and on Thursday Mr. Addington had so much apprehension from his affectionate and affecting way of talking, that he dreaded the reception of his new Ministers on Friday; but that all that business had gone off extremely well, and on Saturday the King was better. But yesterday he was very unwell indeed, and the physicians were quite at a loss. The Princess Elizabeth, in the Queen's name, had begged Mr. Addington would do what he thought best. Young Dr. Willis was there; and upon being asked whether he thought his father's assistance would be useful in this case, said, certainly; and Dr. Willis was sent for. Mr. Addington had communicated the whole to the Prince of Wales, Duke of York, and all the Ministers, and to Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, and

Lord Chatham. He had declared his own decided opinion that the plain course to follow was that of 1788; he added that Lord Loughborough (still Chancellor), and the Duke of Portland would now have to act a different part. He showed me a letter from the Duke of York, saying that the King had borne the introduction of the *Two Strangers*, and had gone to bed quietly.

The King had seen Lord Eldon for an hour and a half on Thursday, which had added to his agitation; and the intemperate language of persons about him, as to his oath, and Papal dominion, &c., had irritated him very much. He had told Mr. Addington, "My bodily health is reasonably good: I have (I trust) good common sense, and I believe a good heart, but my nerves are weak. I am sensible of that. Your father said twelve years ago, that quiet was what I wanted, and that I must have."

At one, the Bulletin at the Queen's House was, "His Majesty has had some hours' sleep last night, but still has fever."

Lord Chesterfield told me that the King on Friday, after his levee and audiences, could not eat chicken, but had eaten some roast mutton and drank some wine.

Batt called on me; he understood from good authority (Lord Malmesbury) that Mr. Pitt had relented much in the last fortnight upon his own conduct on the late question; and Lord Grenville had been impelled by Lord Buckingham, who was much influenced by his wife (a Catholic), and that Thomas Grenville had on this subject departed from his usual moderation, and grown as violent as the Marquis.*

It is understood that Lord Grenville had a long audience of leave after the King's public reception of his new Ministers on Friday last.

In the House of Commons nothing passed but or-

* Compare *Lord Malmesbury*, vol. iv. p. 9, 20.

dinary business. In the City Thellusson told me the King was said to be mad again.

24*th*.—Went to Mr. Addington. He said, "The King is certainly better; but in a day or two it may be necessary to adjourn for a week. Old Dr. Willis is not to come up; he is eighty-three, but he is also rough and violent." Mr. Addington had felt great anxiety about me, and had talked upon my situation to Mr. Pitt last night, who agreed entirely that the faith and justice of the country were pledged to provide for me.

Lord Gower and Canning had resigned many days ago; and on Thursday last Lord Gower's letter had been laid before the King; their successors had kissed hands on Friday last, and to-day they had sent to Mr. A. a message that as Mr. Pitt remained in, they did not consider themselves as having resigned.

The Bulletin was, "His Majesty is thought not to be worse to-day, but still continues to have fever."

I met Lord Eldon.* He said the first word he had heard of the King's indisposition was now in the Park by meeting Lord St. Vincent. Mr. Addington had appointed him to-day at a quarter before eleven, but was gone out when Lord Eldon got there five minutes before eleven. Lord Eldon had on Friday last four hours' conversation with the King, from ten till two, and never saw him in a state to talk more rationally, nor heard truer wisdom upon any subjects than from the King in that audience. It had been proposed that Lord Eldon should have surrendered his office immediately to accelerate the other arrangements; but the King said, "Stay till you have the Seals, before you part with your Chief Justiceship," and, to-morrow he was to have taken them.

In the House of Commons nothing said about the

* This tallies exactly with a conversation between Lord Eldon and Mr. Rose. — *Rose's Diaries, &c.*, vol. i. p. 312; and generally Mr. Rose's account of these transactions, pp. 288-332, corresponds very closely with that given above.

King. A commission came down to the Lords to pass a Bill (the Repeal of the Brown Bread Act), signed this afternoon by the King. The Chancellor told Lord Hardwicke he had carried the commission to the Queen's House, and sent it into the King in his bedchamber; but he had not seen the King.* The Duke of Norfolk was very curious to examine the signature.

25*th*. — Bulletin: "His Majesty's fever continues, but the symptoms are not worse." I had it to-day from good authority that on Friday last the King said to Lord Chatham, "As to my cold, that is well enough; but what else I have I owe to your brother." Yesterday his pulse was at 140. He talked a great deal, but the endeavour was to keep him quiet. The Duke of York told Mr. Pennington to-day, "You may depend upon it, His Majesty is much better." At night, Mr. P. came to me from the Queen's House. The King's periodical paroxysms had not returned this evening, and his pulse was 110. His disorder seemed to be turning to a black jaundice. Old Dr. Willis, who had been sent for, countermanded, and sent for again, arrived this evening.

In the House of Commons I attended the Corn Committee, upon Sir John Sinclair's proposition for relieving Ireland by a vote of money according to the precedent of an Address in 1783, for advancing money to relieve the pressure of scarcity in the Highlands. I gave notice of moving for a Committee to consider of extending the Promulgation to Ireland.

26*th*. — Went to Mr. Addington. His account of the King was this. His symptoms in the beginning of his illness are the same as they were last time in his convalescent state; but it was apprehended for some time that worse symptoms might appear. None such however have appeared; and all that relate to pulse, tongue, skin, &c., bespeak amendment. The season at

* Lord Malmesbury says the King, when signing, "declared very distinctly his opinion upon it, and said it was a very good Bill." — p. 16. But Lord M. is incorrect as to the day, for he says it was signed on the 25th.

this time is peculiarly favourable, for in his former illness, Dr. Addington had said all along that in February he would mend, and recover in March. Mr. Addington has been twice every day, and is the only person, not of his attendants, who had seen him. Mr. Addington has also seen the Prince of Wales repeatedly, who always behaves to him with the greatest civility and propriety.

The Government cannot go on without some change next week, on account of the money business. The mode of proceeding has been discussed. Four ways are possible. 1. To keep the Administration as it is. 2. To bring it back to what it was. 3. To complete it as the King intended it. 4. To make a general sweep. Mr. Pitt upon the discussion gave no opinion. Mr. Addington formed his, but did not communicate it except to Bragge. This happened on Tuesday. Yesterday Mr. Pitt went to the Prince of Wales, and represented to him that respect towards the King, and the Prince's own interest, equally required that, so soon as the Regency came to him, he should complete the arrangements as intended by the King; which the Prince assented to.* Mr. Pitt then came and told the whole to Mr. Addington, and they two dined together yesterday, and interchanged opinions; which had exactly coincided. Mr. Pitt is to see the Prince again to-day. Lord Moira and Jack Payne† advise the Prince to the same conduct, and the Prince certainly has not yet seen any of the Opposition. The forms of proceeding are all agreed upon in the outline; and next Wednesday (if it should be then necessary) the first steps are to be taken towards a Regency: and all the changes will follow in a few days.

As to me, Mr. Addington said he would expressly stipulate, before he entered into the Prince of Wales's

* Lord Malmesbury's account implies rather less agreement between the Prince and Pitt. He also adds that Pitt himself was "very unwell, much shaken, gouty, and nervous." — p. 17.

† Admiral Payne.

councils, that the Pells should be mine, or he would not belong to his Administration.

I afterwards saw Pennington, who said the King had certainly been in a continued state of amendment for the last twenty-two hours.

The Bishop of Durham told me, Lord Grenville, in taking leave of the King, had asked a pension of 1500*l.* a year for Lady Grenville.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Nicholl gave notice that to-morrow he should make a motion on the subject of the King's illness. I moved for my Promulgation Committee.

27*th.* — Bulletin: "The King's fever continues, but without any increase." The private intelligence is that he was quieter yesterday afternoon, and slept well; but about two o'clock in the morning the irritation returned, and the fever rose with it. Sir Francis Milman and Sir Lucas Pepys attend him, besides old Dr. Willis and his son.

In the middle of the day I met Mr. Pitt, who said the King was certainly better. And in the House of Commons, when Mr. Sheridan deprecated Mr. Nicholl's motion, M. Pitt said he had ardent, and he believed well-founded hopes that no event was likely to require a communication to Parliament; although he felt himself bound by the duties of his situation to make such communication if it should become necessary.

N.B. Mr. Grey had declared his intention to oppose Mr. Nicholl's motion; but Sheridan had the dexterity to anticipate his intention by starting up abruptly, in the midst of the private business, with the order-book in his hand, as if he had unexpectedly seen the notice of motion entered in it.

In the Promulgation Committee we delivered our plan to Lord Castlereagh and the Irish Members to consider of a scheme for Ireland suitable to ours.

28*th.*—Saw Mr. Addington. The King is much better. He slept two hours and a half last night uninterruptedly. His former mode of talking,—his "what,

what, what?" returns. He undresses himself in the usual way, and eats as usual. They now give him bark and port wine. Mr. Pitt thinks it unnecessary to deliberate on modes of Regency, &c. He has not seen the Prince of Wales since Wednesday. The exigencies of Government will require Money Acts to be done by the King before Wednesday se'nnight. The Willises think the King may recover very speedily indeed; at a reasonable allowance within ten days, and to a certainty within three weeks.

Bulletin: "His Majesty's fever continues, but is somewhat abated."

I told Mr. Addington of Lord Loughborough pretending to have recommended Law to him. He said we must soon have a meeting with the Attorney- and Solicitor-General, Yorke, Grant, &c., and talk over the three great questions. 1. Catholic Emancipation. 2. Neutral Powers. 3. Peace and War; and prepare for some stout debates, and not rely too much upon the support of the Ex-Ministers.

I sent to Mr. Addington, Reeve's pamphlet on the Coronation Oath.

Sunday, March 1st.—Called on Lord Kenyon, who approved highly of Reeve's pamphlet. Lord Loughborough gives out that he retires *by choice.*

The King was a little unwell last night, but very much recovered this morning; and the Queen, and all the family, and the physicians spoke and looked as if the King's recovery was sure and speedy. The Bulletin was, "His Majesty's fever continues to abate, and he is better in all respects."

The Prince of Wales sent Admiral Payne to Mr. Addington this morning to say that he had already intimated his wish to see Mr. Addington; and the Admiral added that he thought the earlier the more agreeable to H.R.H. Mr. Addington explained that not having had H.R.H.'s commands before, he had willingly forborne to call, as it must appear either courting a situation, which he would by preference (on personal

grounds) decline; or it must appear to be seeking for that declaration of favours which he understood there was a disposition to show to him; but that being commanded, he should now go immediately. Admiral Payne added that the Prince had been told Mr. Addington had obtained the King's signature on Tuesday last to the commission, and had expressed great displeasure at it, till Pelham had assured him that it was impossible.

In point of fact Mr. Addington told me that he had positively refused to carry the commission to the King; and that when he mentioned this in the Cabinet, Lord Loughborough said he would take it upon himself, and had done so accordingly.

Mr. Addington told Mr. Payne this misrepresentation was one of the ten thousand falsehoods which had been circulated, and which would be found to be untrue in good time; but that he should certainly not go to make a professed explanation on the subject.

He went to the Prince, who received him very graciously, and said that, if necessary, *he should look to him* for his assistance; and that Lord Spencer, who had just been there, had spoken of Mr. Addington's conduct throughout as highly correct and honourable. The Prince had pressed him for his opinion on the Chancellor's improper conduct about the commission, but Mr. Addington uniformly contented himself with saying *he* had nothing to do with it, and he must beg to be excused giving any opinion on the conduct of others. We rode together. He also talked over Lord Hawkesbury's case as Third Secretary*, and the clause in the Act of Union respecting the twenty persons holding places under the Irish Government.

2nd.—Bulletin: "His Majesty's fever increased somewhat yesterday afternoon, and has not yet subsided."

From Dr. Reynolds I heard (through Mr. Harris)

* Lord Hawkesbury declined taking his seat from a doubt as to his eligibility, on account of the disqualifying clause respecting the Third Secretary of State, "or Secretary for the Colonies, in the Act of 1782, commonly called Burke's Act." — *Rose's Diaries*, vol. i. p. 321.

that the King was worse last night than ever. The Master of the Rolls told me that it was owing to having given him too strong a dose of calomel.

The letters* said to be from Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis, published at Dublin, respecting the future support of the Catholics, have alarmed and disgusted all reasonable men here. Mr. Pitt *certainly* did *not* write that imputed to him, but he saw it before it went. It is said Lord Cornwallis sent for the Titular Archbishop of Dublin, and communicated it to him; and the Catholic Committee immediately published the substance of both the declarations of Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis.

N.B. The Opposition had regular meetings. On Saturday evening, at Lord Fitzwilliam's, where Mr. Fox now is, there was a numerous meeting. Mr. Fox has written to the Chancellor a letter which he said he must show to his colleagues in office, wherein Mr. Fox signifies that he and his party shall not object to a Regency on the footing of the Bill in 1789.

House of Commons. Very full, but no Ministers or Ex-Ministers. Mr. Fox took his seat, also Mr. George Ponsonby. The motions of Mr. Grey upon the State of the Nation, and of Lord Castlereagh upon Martial Law in Ireland, were postponed till next week. In a Committee upon the report for offering premiums on the cultivation of potatoes, Horne Tooke made a strange paradoxical speech, the drift of which was to show that the price of provisions must and ought to rise; and the only sufferers would be stockholders and annuitants, whose incomes and dividends would suffer in proportion as their annual receipts would obtain less of the necessaries of life. He enlarged also upon his having always in his speeches and writings adhered to established forms of government and religion, and always opposed innovation.

* These papers were given by Lord Cornwallis to Lord Fingall and Dr. Troy, expressly to be circulated by them among the principal Catholics in different parts of Ireland. — *Memoirs and Correspondence of Lord Castlereagh*, vol. i. p. 73.

N.B. The Primate of Ireland told Baker that the letter handed about in Ireland as from Mr. Pitt, respecting the Catholics, was an authorised notification of his sentiments, though not written by Mr. Pitt himself.

3rd.—Bulletin: "His Majesty has had a very good night, and his fever is much abated."

In fact the King slept from eleven last night to four this morning. He then woke in a calm and composed state; his pulse was eighty-four; and in half an hour he fell asleep again, and slept till eight. He then began to ask where he was. He remarked that it was not his own bed. He was told it was Princess Mary's. He said he was sorry she had been disturbed. He was afraid he had been ill a long time. He desired the physicians might be sent to and told how good a night he had passed. Dr. Turton was with him for two hours in the course of to-day. The Queen and Princesses went out airing.

In the House of Commons the call was postponed till this day fortnight; and it was ordered that no Members should go out of Town without leave. Some obtained leave to go out of Town and attend the Assizes.

4th.—Bulletin: "His Majesty's fever has somewhat further abated."

Lord Carleton told me of the two Catholic meetings at Dublin, which had treated the intended concessions and excuses in Mr. Pitt's letter, as communicated by Lord Cornwallis, with the greatest contempt.

5th.—Called on Lord Hardwicke. Saw Lord Cornwallis's letter to him respecting his own return; and his endeavour to soothe the Catholics, which he stated to have been useful. From Lord Glenbervie and Lord Hawkesbury it was evident that on the Friday before the King's illness his audience of leave with Lord Grenville was tranquil, but his audience afterwards with Mr. Dundas agitated him. Mr. Dundas told Lady H. that it was merely upon subjects of general civility and kindness to him respecting his future plans of life, bidding him not part with Wimbledon.

The King to-day had the Duke of Kent to breakfast

with him. The Bulletin was, "His Majesty's fever is still further abated." It is said the physicians advise his going to Kew on Saturday or Sunday next. He was so dangerously ill on Monday last between twelve and four that the physicians called all the Royal Family together, and declared that they could not answer for his life.

6*th*. Bulletin: "His Majesty's fever has not yet subsided, but still continues to abate." The King saw the Queen to-day, and was much better in the afternoon. Dr. Willis said, if he had not been acquainted with his recent illness, he should not have suspected it from any appearance to-day.

Between twelve and one, Mr. Pitt appointed a meeting at Lord Hawkesbury's office, upon Lord Castlereagh's motion for continuing the Lord-Lieutenant's power to enforce martial law in Ireland. The determination was to move for a Bill for three months, viz. to 24th June, in order to allow time in the interim for an inquiry by a Secret Committee into the State of Ireland and the necessity for a prolongation of this law. The questions upon Lord Hawkesbury's seat as Third Secretary of State, and of the re-elections of Yorke and Lord Arden, who had vacated upon accepting offices, and were re-elected before their appointments, were also discussed.

7*th*. Bulletin: "His Majesty's fever continues to abate, and gives the fairest prospect of a speedy recovery."

In fact he was well enough to play three parties of piquet last night, and to play at backgammon this morning. He saw the Queen twice yesterday, and talked over the circumstances of his illness with his family, and expressed great satisfaction at all that had been done, and *not done* during his illness.

Went at night to the Chancellor's, and met the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Cashel. From the latter it appeared that Dr. Moylan, the Titular Bishop of Waterford, much in the confidence of the Castle,

had never heard of the alleged promise of Catholic Emancipation, nor wished for it. He came over here expecting some arrangement of a pecuniary support for the Catholic Clergy, like what is allowed by the Irish Government to the Dissenters.

8*th.* Bulletin: "His Majesty has had a good night, and his fever gradually decreases."

9*th.* Bulletin: "His Majesty is much better in all respects, and seems to be fast approaching to a recovery." The Prince of Wales was with Mr. Addington to-day for an hour.

10*th.* Bulletin: "His Majesty is in all respects much better, and still continues to make progress to recovery." The private accounts are, that he is much debilitated by the fever; that his legs have swelled during the last two days, and there is some danger of a dropsical tendency in his habit.

House of Commons. — Debate and division on the question of Examining Witnesses at the Bar, to prove Horne Tooke a Priest; or adjourning with a view to refer fact as well as law to a Select Committee. 150 for examining witnesses; 66 against it. Fox spoke often and with great vehemence. He claimed the right of speaking a second time, alleging his intention to make a motion, viz. to adjourn; and this (though with great resistance) was allowed to be orderly.

11*th.* Bulletin, announced to be the last: "His Majesty is perfectly free from fever, but it may require some time, as is always necessary after so severe an illness, to complete his recovery."

Went in the evening to Mr. Addington, and stayed with him an hour. The King saw him to-day, and expressed a great desire to have all the arrangements completed instantly. He spoke with great sensibility of the general attachment shown to him by the people, and by his own family. His mind was as calm and as fit for business as at any time of his life, but his bodily strength much lowered. It is proposed that, in the course of next week, he should go out of town, and not

have any levees for some days. The seals of Chancellor of the Exchequer will probably be transferred on Friday or Saturday to Mr. Addington. The King had, before his illness, taken leave of all his Ministers except Mr. Pitt. Lord Grenville, at his last audience, asked for a floating pension for Lady Grenville, by way of jointure, of 1500*l.* a year. Mr. Dundas is to have 1500*l.* a year added to the Privy Seal of Scotland (which is 3000*l.*), making in all 4500*l.*, in order to enable him to keep Wimbledon.

Within the last four or five days attempts have been made by Lord Carlisle and others, to make a junction of part old and part new Administration; to which the objections were the impossibility of Mr. Addington giving up his friends who had consented to act with him; and the equal impossibility of Mr. Pitt remaining in office after the resignation of his former colleagues.*

The possible variations in the former arrangements intended by Mr. Addington may be:—

Mr. Pelham . .	Secretary for the War Department.
Lord Hobart . .	Secretary for the Home (vice Duke of Portland).
Duke of Portland	President of the Council (vice Lord Chatham).
Lord Chatham .	Master-General of the Ordnance (vice Duke Cornwallis).

As yet Sir Charles Stuart has not been spoken to. The whole patronage of the army in Ireland will be here under the Duke of York.

There is to be no Secretary of State for Ireland: the Secretary of State for the Home Department will do the State business for Ireland since the Union. The signet now held by Lord Castlereagh is to be separated from the office of Chief Secretary; and perhaps (if the King will consent) it will be given to Lord Castlereagh as a

* See *Lord Malmesbury's Diary*, vol. iv. pp. 33-45, from which it would seem that, in his belief, Pitt having given up all idea of again mooting the Catholic question, since he saw the effect it had on the King's mind, was desirous to retain office, only would take no steps himself to that end, expecting that the overture should come from Addington. His colleagues in general wished him to stay in, and to resume their old places, and Lord Cornwallis even wrote to Lord Castlereagh, stating that he considered (now that the Catholic question was given up) "those who had resigned as *bound* to continue their services."—Ibid. p. 42.

sinecure for his life; but he will have no concern in the office of Chief Secretary, which will be the efficient office, and is intended for me with the rank of Privy Councillor, at the fixed salary of 4000*l.* a year, and 500*l.* more for travelling expenses, making the whole (as I was told originally) between 4000*l.* and 5000*l.* a year. The office of Chief Secretary will not vacate my seat, as it is supposed to be in the ostensible gift of the Lord-Lieutenant.

Mr. Addington understood that there was now an establishment for the Irish office here, much overloaded with appointments, viz., a head clerk with 1500*l.* a year, and a second with 1000*l.*, which he thought should be cut down to 1000*l.* or 800*l.* a year, and to 500*l.* a year. He believed Elliott, at the head of this office, had resigned, and these two appointments would be in my patronage; and that I should do well to look out for a fit person. He wished me to take an opportunity of talking with Lord Castlereagh upon these arrangements, and his establishment, and the business of his office. But, in respect to the division of Signet and Chief Secretary, not to touch upon that, as Lord C. did not know of Mr. Addington's intention to speak with the King upon that subject. Nor was it by any means clear that the King would consent to it, as he was very angry with him. He also said that there were two offices in Ireland, one of them held by Lord Liverpool's brother, which were intended to be suppressed and merged in this office.

Since the King's recovery, Dr. Willis (the younger), was relating the King's inquiries about the conduct of persons, and Mr. Pitt came in at the time, when Dr. Willis proceeded to relate that the King asked how much Pitt was affected, "for he must know to what causes all my illness has been owing." Mr. Pitt was struck extremely with this relation, and begged the King might be assured that he would never give him any disquiet upon this subject. He asked afterwards whether Dr. Willis thought that such an assurance might be mate-

rial to his health. Dr. Willis said, certainly, and to his life also. Mr. Pitt then desired a direct message might be delivered to the King from him to that effect.*

It is still a mystery (and Mr. Addington himself thinks so) why Mr. Pitt and his colleagues retired upon a question which they were not pledged upon to anybody, which the Catholics did not desire, and which they can now so easily forego.

Upon my return home I wrote a letter to Mr. Addington on what occurred to me upon the proposed division of Lord Castlereagh's present situation, in which I stated that I found that in the list of Offices of State reserved by the articles of Union with Scotland, the Privy Seal is expressly named, which, as we all know, is and was meant to be a sinecure office of high rank in that part of the kingdom; and, therefore, that I thought that if Lord Castlereagh's present situation was to be divided there would not be any possible objection to the same arrangement for Ireland; that, as there were *two* seals, I thought the Signet, which was one of them, might be given to a separate officer, for life or otherwise, with the title of Keeper of the Privy Seal. But that I thought it material that the holder of it should not retain the style of Secretary of State, but the *efficient* office, that of Secretary for Ireland, should be even nominally overshadowed by the sinecure office, so as to become a sort of *Under* Secretary of State. But that I thought that the seal which properly belongs to the Secretary of State should be retained in the office of the Lord Lieutenant's chief Secretary, since I believed it would turn out that by the constitution of the Irish Government there are acts which necessarily require the seal of *the Secretary of State in Ireland* to be still preserved, so that the name of that office could

* Lord Malmesbury's account is that the King "directed Willis to speak or write to Pitt;" that Willis wrote, and that "Pitt, in his answer, which was most *dutiful*, humble, and *contrite*, said he would give up the Catholic question." But it is evident that Lord Malmesbury had not such accurate information as Mr. Abbot, since he does not profess to be quite sure of which Dr. Willis he is speaking, p. 31.

not be abolished, although the corresponding and transacting of business always has been and ought to be carried on through the Secretary of State for the Home Department in England.

12*th*.—House of Commons. Debate on the Irish Martial Law Bill. Lord Castlereagh made a masterly speech in moving for leave to bring it in. Sir Lawrence Parsons opposed it, but was the only Irish member who did. It was supported with great ability and eloquence by Mr. Fitzgerald, Dennis Browne, Martin, Westenra, Mr. Lee, M.P. for Dungarvon, and others. The opposition would not divide. Rose at twelve.

13*th*.—Mr Pitt has taken the remainder of a lease for a year of a furnished house in Park Place, lately occupied by Mr. Fisher, Under Secretary of State in Lord Grenville's office. His debts are stated to be 30,000*l*. at least (Rose told me three years ago they were 20,000*l*.).* He must part with Holwood, and it is also said that he has in some way mortgaged his Wardenship of the Cinque Ports.

15*th*.—Went to Mr. Addington. He received the Seals of Chancellor of the Exchequer yesterday, and the King will to-day sign the warrant for appointing him First Lord of the Treasury.

My situation was again discussed. Mr. Pitt has my letter which I wrote on Wednesday night. It is perfectly agreed that there shall be no Secretary of State for Ireland. It is properly the Signet, and, if Lord Castlereagh keeps it, the name will be Keeper of the Signet. It is not a political office; so little so, that Lord Castlereagh had it in contemplation to resign it to some other person, even whilst he himself held the office

* Pitt's debts at this time were found, on examination, to be above 45,000*l*. Some of his friends wished to propose a Parliamentary grant to pay them, on the ground that they had been incurred by his devotion to the affairs of the nation, which had made him neglect his own. To this Pitt would not consent. The King desired to pay a large proportion of them out of his Privy Purse. Ultimately a private subscription was raised by Pitt's own friends to pay off the most pressing claims.—See *Rose's Diaries*, &c., vol. i. pp. 336, 338, 402.

of Chief Secretary for Ireland, which is the name still of the efficient office. It was always understood between us that the efficient situation which Lord Castlereagh occupied as Secretary for Ireland should be taken by me.

Mr. Pitt considers the offices of Secretary of Ireland and Treasurer of the Navy as the two greatest and highest offices under Government next after the Cabinet Ministers. As to emoluments, as there are not only travelling expenses, but in some degree also two families of servants to be maintained, one here, and one in Ireland, it was now agreed that the income should be 5000*l.* a year. Mr. Addington said particularly that there should not be any person with the style of Secretary of State for Ireland, inasmuch as that was a name which would eclipse the efficient office, as well as mislead by a confusion with the Secretary of State for the Home Department; that Lord Castlereagh seemed to have no desire to retain even the Signet; but that certainly some mark of honour and distinction should be conferred upon him for accomplishing the great work of the Union. That, if he resigned the Signet at all events, it would be better for me not to vacate my seat till the Easter recess, as we must all be in our places for the first debate.

During the last few days, Dundas, with a set at Wimbledon, have been caballing and endeavouring to represent that the King's illness has introduced a new state of things; so that the old ministers might still retain their offices, and provide some great and eminent situation for Mr. Addington. For a time Mr. Pitt gave way to their instances, and authorised a message to the Duke of Portland that, if it should be the King's earnest wish, and also Mr. Addington's earnest wish to have the former administration restored, he was prepared to discuss the circumstances. To this Mr. Addington answered, that it never was his wish to quit his former situation, that the former Ministers had declared their own irrevocable determination to resign; and they had advised his accepting the Government as

the only thing that could stand between the Crown and ruin, and that even now his own personal wish would be to be restored to his own family, and to give them back the power they had resigned, if it could be done consistently with their own honour and the King's desire. That they might open the matter to the King if they pleased, but he would not propose it, and he trusted they would think fit previously to consult the King's physicians as to the effect such a proposition might have upon him in his present state of health. That Mr. Pitt had at length said that he thought the project utterly improper, and that he would hold no intercourse with those who would not concur in a strenuous support of the New Administration; nor should he think those persons friends to himself who croaked about their instability. The suggesters of this return to power were mainly Dundas, aided by Pelham, Lord Camden, &c.; those who were most indignant at it were Lord Chatham, Steele, &c.

When the King delivered the Seals of Chancellor of the Exchequer to Addington he embraced him, and said, "You have saved me."

Dined at the Attorney General's. Met (among others) Dr. Duigenan, who was strenuous against granting any stipendiary establishment to the Irish Clergy.*

16*th*.—I called on Lord Glenbervie† upon the subject of Ireland. He explained to me the constitution of the Treasury, and answered me as to some particulars respecting the constitution and arrangement of the Secretary's office.

I received a letter from the Common room of Christ Church, Oxford, informing me that there was a rumour of the representation of the University becoming vacant, and requesting me not to engage myself.

* Dr. Duigenan was Judge Advocate, and from his extreme opinions was often causing difficulties to the Ministers whom he supported. — See *Lord Cornwallis's Diary*, vol. iii. pp. 63, 89, and Yonge's *Life of the Duke of Wellington*, vol. i. p. 108.

† As Mr. Sylvester Douglas, he had been Secretary for Ireland in 1793, in the latter part of Lord Westmoreland's Lord-Lieutenantcy.

In the House of Commons there was a debate on the second reading of the Martial Law Bill, but no division.

Mr. Pitt sat on the right hand of the chair, in the third row from the floor; he spoke several times in the course of the evening on the different orders of the day.

17*th.*—The King held a council to-day, at which Lord Hardwicke was sworn in and declared Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

At four I went by appointment to Mr. Addington, who told me that he had seen Lord Castlereagh, who doubted whether he ought not to resign the Privy Seal of Ireland (and that it was *not* the Signet); but Mr. Addington had proposed to him to hold it for his life, which was now under his consideration. He added, that he found from Lord Castlereagh that the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland was a much more considerable office than he had supposed, and the emoluments as they now stood were very large indeed, even without the Privy Seal.

18*th.*—House of Commons. Rose promised the Treasury proceedings on the Finance Committee immediately. He said he had signed the last letter to the Board to-day; and it might be better to wait for their answers rather than leave the matter incomplete. He expressed also a strong desire to have the Revenue Board established. Debate on the Irish Martial Law Bill, in a Committee. Division on one of the amendments, 100 to 18. Rose at 12.

19*th.*—House of Commons. Revived London Port Committee. Debate on Report of Martial Law Bill, and Master of the Rolls Bill. Division for it, 62; against it, 41. Debate on Lord Hawkesbury's seat as third Secretary of State, and agreed it did not disqualify him.

20*th.*—Saw Mr. Addington. Lord Castlereagh had declined taking the Privy Seal of Ireland for life; the Chancellor not to resign till the beginning of next week.

House of Commons. Martial Law Bill passed.

House of Lords. Debate on Lord Darnley's motion for an inquiry into the state of the nation. Division at half-past two in the morning. For it, 25; against it, 107. Lord Bute, the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Bulkeley, and the Duke of Somerset voted with the Ministry.

22*nd*.—Went to Lord Castlereagh at eleven, and talked over the establishment of office, minor measures, and engagements, &c. He gave me a paper of the Irish Office establishment in London; and also a paper of the project for granting stipendiary allowances to the Catholic and dissenting clergy in Ireland.

23*rd*.—House of Commons. In the London Port Committee agreed to the twenty-one questions to be sent to eminent mathematicians and engineers on the project, drawing, plans, and estimates of an iron bridge of 600 feet span across the Thames, as proposed by Mr. Telford.

In the House of Lords heard Lord Clare on the Martial Law Bill.

24*th*. — In the House of Commons, spoke to Mr. Addington, Mr. Corry, and Sir John Parnell about the Irish Election Committees, and agreed to settle a plan after the Easter recess.

25*th*. — House of Commons. State of the nation. Grey moved for a Committee, and stated five points. 1. The conduct of the war. 2. Foreign relations and the neutral question. 3. Internal situation of Great Britain in finance and provisions. 4. Ireland. 5. Secession of old Ministers, and formation of new Administration. Dundas answered. Lord Temple, Ellison, Sir William Young, and May spoke. After which, Mr. Pitt spoke, and Mr. Fox replied. Mr. Addington spoke, and Mr. Grey closed the debate at four o'clock in the morning. For the motion, 105; against it, 291.

27*th*. — House of Commons. Jones's motion on Egypt.* Mr. Addington told me that Lord Castle-

* This was on the subject of the Convention of El Arish, which Sir Sidney Smith, without any authority, had concluded with the French in the pre-

reagh had given up the Privy Seal of Ireland, and, as he wished me to have some certainty, if I approved of it, he would, on the first day he went to the King on business, propose me for the Privy Seal during my life; value 1500*l.* a year, with a floating pension of 1000*l.* a year, to go in part of the 5000*l.* a year during my holding the Chief Secretaryship; and to be afterwards in lieu or in part of the emoluments of any situation of equal or greater emolument which I might hold under the Crown; such as the Pells, or the like.

The King, according to good intelligence, is perfectly well in mind, but weak in body, and so much so, as to make it undesirable that he should hold a council or do any complicated business at present.

31*st.*—Lord St. Helens came to desire I would express his readiness to be employed in the diplomatic line, which I did immediately by note to Mr. Addington. He mentioned a conversation of two hours with the Prince of Wales, who told him the circumstances of the King's illness, and his own readiness to conduct his father's government by the same Ministers (with the addition of Lord Moira), and upon the same principles.

Walked with Thomas Grenville, with whom I conversed on the best mode of deciding controverted elections from Ireland. Also rode with Mr. Pitt, and talked with him on the same subject. The best mode which occurred to Mr. Pitt was to preserve the name and form of the Grenville Committee, but to superadd a power of directing issues to be tried in Ireland upon controverted facts; the verdict to be returned to the Committee, who might thereupon finally decide and report.

ceding year, and which the French themselves, on finding that he had acted without authority and was likely to be disavowed at home, had at once broken, though the Opposition now tried to represent its annulment as entirely the act of Pitt.

CHAP. XIII.

1801.

THE IRISH BUDGET. — DISTURBANCES IN THE WEST OF ENGLAND. — LORD ELDON BECOMES LORD CHANCELLOR. — THE BATTLE OF COPENHAGEN. — MURDER OF THE EMPEROR PAUL. — SIR WILLIAM MEADOWS APPOINTED IRISH COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. — MEASURES TO BE ADOPTED IN IRELAND. — MR. ABBOT PROPOSES THE MARTIAL LAW BILL. — MR. ABBOT GOES TO IRELAND.

Wednesday, April 1st. — House of Commons. Irish Budget; Motion for Secret Committee on State of Ireland; and practices of disaffected persons in Ireland and Great Britain.

2nd. — Ballot for Secret Committee. It consisted of Addington, Lord Hawkesbury, Charles Yorke, Pitt, Dundas, Corry, John Beresford, Lord Cole, Lord Castlereagh, Theophilus Jones, Wilberforce, Hawkins Browne, Abbot, Blackburne, Bragge, Lord Yarmouth, Buxton, Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, Pelham, and Burdon.

News of risings in the West.* The King certainly better. All the family agree that a Regency would overset him for life. Great bodily weakness; but his mind and his letter-writing as good as ever. Sir Charles Grey has declined Ireland, on account of his age and health. His letter to the Duke of Portland and his private letter to Lord St. Vincent agree in this.

4th. — At twelve went to the Committee of Secrecy. Pelham was voted into the chair; the Com-

* A general disposition to riot was shown all through the west of Somersetshire and Devonshire, caused partly by the scarcity. To such an extent had it spread among the Dockyard men at Plymouth that the Commissioner had thought it necessary to spike the cannon. — See letters in *Lord Sidmouth's Life*, vol. i. p. 363.

mittee clerk was solemnly enjoined to secrecy, and all the members of the Committee pledged themselves to the same. Agreed on the course of proceeding.

Sent Mr. Addington my statement of the question respecting stipendiary allowances to Catholic priests.

7th. — Harrison came and took instructions for the Bills proposed in favour of Ireland, viz. 1. The exemption Bills from Assessed Taxes and Income Tax. 2. Bonding Duties on importation of sugar, wine, and spirits into Ireland. 3. Drawbacks on tea, to be repaid instantly on exportation to Ireland.

Secret Committee. Sent papers on the state of the Protestant Church and Public Schools of Ireland to Lord Hardwicke and Mr. Addington.

Lord Mulgrave declined going as Commander-in-Chief to Ireland.

8th.—At eleven I went to Lord Castlereagh, discussed several points, and amongst the rest, the Place Bill. Cooke* came; we went through the consequences of it, and stated the remaining places which would be compatible with Parliament for persons likely to attend. They appeared to be about fifteen; besides the fifteen or sixteen law sinecures, and some of each class are always likely to be held by Peers.

13th. — Secret Committee agreed upon their report. In the House Pelham presented the Report. Division upon taking it into consideration to-morrow. For it, 128; against it, 31.

14th.—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Bill brought in and passed. On two divisions: first, 189 to 42; second, 190 to 34.

The Great Seal was this day delivered to Lord Eldon in Council.

15th. — The news from Denmark.†

17th. — Mr. Addington told me that the alternative on Tuesday last was, *only* to transfer the Great Seal, or to do *many* other things. And the unanimous

* Under Secretary for Ireland.

† The battle of Copenhagen had taken place on the 2nd of April.

advice was, that the King should *only do one* thing that day.

18*th.* — To-day the King rode to see the Princess of Wales at Blackheath.

20*th.* — House of Commons. Third reading of the Seditious Assemblies Bill. For it, 152; against it, 35.

24*th.* — Lord Hobart came about the Irish Process Bill. I declined taking any part in it, as having no concern in Irish affairs officially; and understanding that the measure was generally acceptable to the House of Commons, and the judges and law officers in Ireland.

House of Commons. Ponsonby moved his Bill. Addington assented for Lord Hobart. Corry disclaimed opposition for himself; but interceded for inferior officers. Lee supported the Bill, but spoke also for the inferior officers. Parnell, in favour of the Chancellor of Exchequer and inferior officers.

The King better, though he had a relapse on Sunday or Monday last. Either Prescot or Mulgrave to be Commander-in-Chief in Ireland; but not yet decided.

27*th.* — Mr. Addington told me in the House, that Lord Castlereagh would resign the Privy Seal of Ireland this week, and that I should be sworn of the Privy Council, at the next Council, at the furthest on this day se'nnight, with Grant and Wallace, and that this might take place while I was out of Parliament.

28*th.* — Lord Nelson's private letters were shown to me with his detailed reasons for the armistice. Woronzow anxious for re-establishing peace with Great Britain.

The Emperor Paul was followed into his room at night; made to consent to abdicate, which he did, begging his life; but, when left with one person to guard him, he made a violent effort to seize his guard by the throat, and immediately others came in, knocked him down, and strangled him with his own sash.

At night, went by appointment to Mr. Addington, and had two hours' conversation.

Settled (among other things) that

Pelham was to resign the office of Secretary of State; either the office was to be wholly suppressed, or rather annexed to the office of Chief Secretary, on account of its inherent powers of committing for treason and seditious libels, and of ordering the Postmaster-General to open letters.

The money for engagements of the Union, as authorised to be taken out of the Privy Purse, to be settled between Mr. Pitt and Lord Castlereagh. Irish Bills; the following to be expedited: —

Tax Exemption: 1. From Income and Assessed Taxes. 2. From Import Duties on private movables.

Bondings, wine, sugar, and spirits to be settled with Vansittart. Tea drawbacks, and the like.

Election Bill to be settled with Bragge, Lee, &c.

The rest to wait for another Session.

Private Bills for roads, &c., to proceed, as in the Irish Parliament, cost free this session, and the expense of commutation to clerks to be covered by an address, and put to the account of miscellaneous service for next year.

30*th*. — Lord Howe declined going as Commander-in-Chief to Ireland, on account of age and infirmities; Lord Hardwicke wrote to Mr. Addington to signify his approbation of Lord Dorchester, but it turned out that the Duke of Portland objected to his temper. Sir Wm. Meadows is now to be thought of.

Secret Committee; we worked at the Martial Law papers. Mr. Pitt brought the news of the defeat of Menou's * army.

House of Commons. Mr. Addington gave notice of moving the Irish Tax Exemption Bill.

Saturday, May 3rd.— Mr. Addington told me that the Commander-in-Chief was agreed upon by the Duke of

* He had been defeated at Alexandria by Sir R. Abercromby on the 21st of March.

York, Lord Hobart, Lord Hardwicke, and the Duke of Portland, viz. Sir W. Meadows. That the physicians were of opinion that the King should not hold a Council yet awhile, unless urgent business required it, and therefore the *Houses* must wait, the Privy Council, &c. But that to-day Mr. Pitt would see Lord Castlereagh upon his resignation, and he, Mr. Addington, would then write to propose my appointment to the King, and he saw no reason why my writ should not be moved on Wednesday next.

4th. — At two went to the Secret Committee, communicated Lord Longueville' letter from Cork, and its was agreed that the Duke of Portland should send off an express for more particulars of the intended massacre in Muskerry.

House of Commons. Debate till three in the morning on Horne Tooke's ineligibility.* Division, for the previous question, 94; against it, 53.

5th. — Mr. Addington told me that Meadows was not yet publicly appointed, but that at the worst, Lord Cornwallis had recommended General Johnstone as fit for the command in Ireland, where he is now on the staff. He also desired me to draw the Clergy Disqualifying Bill, which I did, and sent it at night.

6th. — Mr. Addington read me the copy of the letter which he meant to send to the King respecting the office of Privy Seal of Ireland, to be granted to myself for life; and offered, if I desired it, to move my writ to-day, but represented that the Chancellor had been with him, stating that Lord Thurlow had urged the impropriety of suffering the King to do anything in his present state of seclusion beyond the ordinary course of business; and that, if more were done, some inquiry

* It having been proved that Mr. Tooke was a priest of the Church of England, Lord Temple moved a new writ for Old Sarum, for which borough he had been returned to Parliament, on the ground that such a return had been illegal on the face of it; but as there was a doubt about the law, the previous question was carried, and Mr. Addington subsequently brought in a Bill to declare all Clergymen incapable for the future of being elected Members of the House of Commons.

would be made in Parliament. He added, that he had settled with the Chancellor to see the King on Saturday. He then gave me the King's letter of the 13th February last respecting myself to copy, and signed the extract which I took, wherein the King expressed his approbation of my being Secretary of State for Ireland, and desired that I should previously resign my office in the Court of King's Bench.

7th. — In the evening I went to Mr. Addington by appointment, and we settled the private instructions for the Lord-Lieutenant, according to my proposal, with some slight variations, and transacted other Irish business. He had not received any letter from the King, but was to go down to him to-morrow.

8th. — This day Sir W. Meadows accepted the Chief Command of the forces in Ireland, and proposed to set off in a week. Lord Hardwicke also fixed next Thursday for his departure. The King wrote a long letter to-day to Lord Hardwicke upon his approaching departure, containing the kindest expressions of favour, and some very prudent recommendations as to the proper conduct of a Lord-Lieutenant, and the character of the men in whom he might most safely confide, with discriminations of the degree in which they were severally to be made parties to the Government.

10th. — Lord Hardwicke showed me a letter which he had received from the King, with His Majesty's intimations upon further points respecting the Government of Ireland, the State of the Church, Public Education, Civilisation, &c.

I went to Lord Clare * by appointment. Stated to him my desire that he would allow me at all times to ask his opinion and advice upon Irish affairs, assuring him of my disposition to show the utmost respect and attention to his wishes, and that his advice, if he thought fit to give it, would not be undervalued; that I should always take the liberty of speaking to him

* Formerly Mr. FitzGibbon. He had been Lord Chancellor of Ireland ever since 1789.

with frankness, and in the most unreserved way, hoping that he would deal with me in the same manner. He assured me that he always would be upon that footing with me, and we talked over the present state of Ireland; the mode in which the Catholic question was left suspended; the law promotions, past and future; the Place Bill, Election Bill, and Copyright Bill.

16*th*. — Lord Hardwicke showed me a strange letter he had received from the Duke of Portland, respecting his private instructions, and the person who had suggested them, his unacquaintance with the forms of transacting business in public departments, &c.

17*th*. — Saw Lord Hardwicke, who had seen Mr. Pitt, and discoursed with him upon several Irish points; viz. the conduct to be holden towards Foster*, the Catholic Clergy's provision (which Mr. Pitt said he understood they were not likely to require at present); Tithes, and the residence of the Clergy. Mr. Pitt was for civil treatment of Foster, but not to let him govern. He said Foster had broken faith with him upon the Union; not by opposing it, (for he had always professed his objections to it,) but by taking a lead against it, which he had distinctly promised not to do. As to tithes, he thought Sir Henry Mildmay's Bill for leasing tithes was the best idea hitherto started, and like what had been in his own contemplation. As to patronage, he thought it would not admit of being reduced in Ireland, but Lord Hardwicke said his object would be to render the sinecure officers efficient gradually, if he was directed by a special instruction to inquire into the state of the public offices.

Afterwards I met Mr. Pitt, and told him of my satisfaction in the conversation he had held with Lord Hardwicke; he wished me also to send him the draft of the Irish Contested Election Bill. At night he sent me the proof of the Report of the Secret Committee with his corrections, and I forwarded it to Bragge.

18*th*. — Lord Hardwicke was desired to stay one day

* Mr. Foster had been Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, and was subsequently created Lord Oriel.

longer, and take his leave of the Prince of Wales and Duke of York. I saw him at eleven, with Charles Yorke; and we again discussed the private instructions, and the Duke of Portland's pitiful, splenetic, and ignorant conduct.

21*st.* — At one I went to the Queen's House; at twenty minutes before two the Council sat, and Sir W. Grant, myself, and Wallace were sworn in; we took the oath of allegiance kneeling; and then the Privy Councillor's oath was administered to us standing. After which we kissed the King's hand, and shook hands with each Privy Councillor present; beginning with the Chancellor at the King's right hand, then going behind the King's chair to the Lord President on his left, and round the rest of the table.

After we were sworn in, the Clerks of the Council stood on each side of the King, and the Lord President rose up and read a paper of the business to be transacted: viz. proclamations, orders, &c. And upon each article the King read aloud from the margin what his pleasure was to have done; which the Clerk repeated aloud from his duplicate.

After the business was finished the King rose and spoke to all the Council individually, by going round as at the levée; to each of us, when we kissed hands upon being sworn, he spoke. He asked me how soon I should go over to Ireland; I answered in about a month; he answered, "You must stay as long as you can upon this side of the water; we cannot spare you." He looked extremely well, and stout and upright, and joked as usual with his Ministers after the Council broke up.

26*th.* — The Seals were brought. I went by appointment to meet Lord Hobart, at Lord Clare's, on the Irish Place Bill. The only point settled was an exception for Beresford.

27*th.* — In the House of Commons I moved to bring in the Martial Law Bill; and gave notice of the Election Bill and Place Bill for to-morrow.

Saturday, June 7th. — Went to Mr. Addington. Talked over several Bills; the Irish Place Bill, in which he agreed to persist, &c. The Union engagements, whereof a copy was delivered by Lord Cornwallis to Lord Hardwicke, and another copy to be delivered by Mr. Pitt, to Mr. Addington.

9*th.* — At half past twelve, went to Kew, with Yorke, Steele, and Corry, to meet the Duke of Portland, and Lord Leicester, and present a joint address of both Houses for the promulgation of the Statutes.

The King received us at two. The Duke of Portland read the address, and delivered it with the resolutions to His Majesty, who immediately answered thus:

"Nothing can be more useful than a prompt and methodical promulgation of the laws; and I will forthwith give orders to carry these resolutions into effect." He then addressed us generally, and said it had been greatly wanted; was very surprising that it had not been thought of sooner; and that the whole merit of it was mine.

After this he fell into conversation upon general topics of the State of Europe; Lord Hardwicke's arrival in Ireland; the anecdotes of leading characters in Ireland in former times; the present business in Parliament, divorces, &c.; the abolition of fees in public offices, and the inconvenience and neglect ensuing before the plan of fixed salaries. In this sort of conversation, intermixed with a great many very judicious remarks, and carried on with vivacity and pleasantry, he detained us half an hour.

In the House of Commons, the Martial Law Bill Committee went off.

10*th.* — House of Commons. Irish Place Bill passed on third reading; with debate but no division. Martial Law Bill Committee. Debate. I proposed to fill up the continuance "during the present war," &c., as suggested by the Report of the Secret Committee. Ponsonby opposed violently. Addington said he had not understood it to be so intended to be limited; and

proposed until 25th March, 1802. Grey, Whitbread, and Tierney abused me for severity of disposition, and as unfit to be Minister for Ireland, with such arbitrary and sanguinary views. I defended myself. Steele, Corry, and Yorke vindicated me and my public conduct, &c. The House sat till two.

11*th*. — House of Commons. Debate on the English Indemnity Act; carried, 92, to 17.

12*th*.—House of Commons. Read Martial Law Bill a third time, and carried it to the Lords. Went through Irish Tax Exemption Bill in Committee; and afterwards, *pro formâ*, through the Election Bill, and filled up the blanks.

15*th*.—At twelve discussed with Mr. Addington various topics.

1. Union list of engagements, not yet delivered by Mr. Pitt to Mr. Addington.

2. Cooke's money not yet paid, because no letter yet written by Mr. Pitt to the King.

3. Irish Baronets promised before the Union are all to be British.

4. Private instructions are to be given to me before I go; and I am to go to Wimbledon next week, when Addington will be at Dundas's.

5. Windsor uniform allowed to me by the King's express permission.*

6. Peerage to Sir C. Grey, &c., earnestly desired by Sir C. Grey.

7. Copyright Bill, explained again and agreed to by Mr. Addington.

8. Also Irish Election Bill, &c.

16*th*.—At two went to the Queen's House; kissed the King's hand, as Secretary of State for Ireland. He asked me when I went, if I took my family with me; how many Bills were still in Parliament, &c. &c. A Council was held afterwards.

* The Windsor uniform was worn only by the King's household, and such other persons as received the King's permission. There were no ministerial uniforms at this date.

House of Commons. Tax Exemption Bill read a third time and passed.

17*th.*—House of Commons. Debate on Irish Election Bill, from seven till one in the morning. Divided 43 to 7 in favour of the clause for a commission to examine witnesses in Ireland.

23*rd.*—House of Commons. Reported the Irish Election Bill; supped at Mr. Addington's, and talked over the remaining changes in the Cabinet, Lord Pelham, and Duke of Portland—peace and war—Mr. Pitt's friendly and manly conduct—Scotland, &c.

23*rd.*—House of Lords. Prevailed on Lord Rosslyn * to bring in a Bill enabling the judges in Ireland and Scotland to swear witnesses upon Estate Bills referred to them.

House of Commons. Irish Election Bill read a third time. Dawson spoke against it; I and Corry for it. Martin against it, but voted for it. No division.

24*th.*—House of Commons. Irish Indemnity Bill read a first time. Absentee Tax Repeal reported.

28*th.*—House of Lords. Lord Thurlow objected to my Copyright Bill; not to the principle, but to some of the phrases; and, when they were shown to be justified by preceding Acts, he still objected.

30*th.*—The Chancellor called. He said if he had known the Copyright Bill to be mine, he would have taken as much care of it as if it had been his own. Accordingly, the Bill passed, though not without some difficulty in the Commons, upon the effect of the amendments made by the Lords (at my instance) for giving a copy of every new book to the library of the King's Inns.

Friday, July 3*rd.*—Settled bridges at Bangor and Conway Ferries, with Williams and Rennie. The mercantile and landed interest in Wales desire it. It is to cross Bangor Ferry at Ynys y Moed. One arch, 450 feet, iron, 100,000*l.* Conway, two arches, 200 feet

* Lord Loughborough had just been created Lord Rosslyn.

each. The iron about 15,000*l.* The surveys to be completed immediately, and the plans and estimates to be ready before November.

4*th.*—Went down with Addington to Wimbledon, and slept there. Discussed many points. Desirable to add 2000*l.* a year to Pitt, by increase of Cinque Ports, or by Duchy of Lancaster. Dundas to be a peer by Christmas. Inclined to send him to East Indies. Civil List to be augmented next year by 100,000*l.* Civil List debts to be cleared by sale of * Prince of Wales has borrowed of the King, pledging his own revenues for one year more than under the ordinary course, for liquidating his present debt, by reason of increased expenses of family and the Princess.

Overtures from Canning.

6*th.*—Wrote to Mr. Addington in the evening, with observations on the proposal for increasing the Regium Donum.

7*th.*—Mr. Addington undertook to speak to Mr. Pitt for his list of Union Engagements; to Lord Pelham, on Cooke's affair; and to the Duke of York, on the patronage of the Irish army. He also repeated his desire to amalgamate the two countries in one Government, by appointing Irishmen to the Treasury, Admiralty, &c.

8*th.*—Met Lord Pelham at the Duke of Portland's, and afterwards related the whole conference to Charles Yorke, upon the division of military power between the Lord-Lieutenant and the Commander of the Forces in Ireland.

9*th.*—Set off for Ireland.

* Blank in MS.

CHAP. XIV.

1801.

STATE OF IRELAND DURING THE LATTER PART OF 1801. — FREQUENT OUTRAGES IN MANY DISTRICTS. — NEWS OF PEACE WITH FRANCE. — VIOLENT CONDUCT OF LORD CLARE. — REFORMS UNDERTAKEN BY MR. ABBOT. — DEATH OF LORD CLARE. — SIR JOHN MITFORD BECOMES IRISH CHANCELLOR. — MR. ABBOT IS ELECTED SPEAKER.

July. — We arrived in Ireland on the 20th July, 1801, and stayed there till 30th January, 1802.*

Of these six months, the two first were a time of war, and daily expectation of rebellion and invasion.

During this period the chief business of the Irish Government was to revise the proceedings and sentences of all courts martial for the execution of the Martial Law Act, and to correspond with the generals of districts upon the civil and military state of the country. Upon the news of the French preparations in the Channel, the Irish Government obtained the offers of all the Irish militia regiments to volunteer for service in England, if it should be attacked. Proclamations were also issued for regulating the mode of driving cattle in all the maritime counties, and the secret orders were renewed to each general, directing his line of conduct, according to the plans laid down by Lord Cornwallis.

The regular forces in Ireland, including fencibles during this period, was about 30,000, and the militia

* While in Ireland Mr. Abbot omitted to make daily notes in his Journal, but drew up a summary account of his official proceedings in Ireland after his return, which, with the correspondence inserted at the end of this chapter, gives a very complete account of the transactions in Ireland during Mr. Abbot's tenure of office in that country.

30,000 more: the yeomanry corps of infantry and cavalry were about 60,000; the cavalry part being about 12,000.

The Irish Ordnance being now consolidated with the British, a change took place in the Constitution of the Irish Board; who were now placed almost entirely out of the control of the Lord-Lieutenant, and of the Commander of the Forces; great difficulties occurred in adjusting the details of this and other branches of the Military Finance, in consequence of the recent consolidation of the whole army since the Union.

Lord Cornwallis's plan for the defence of Ireland led him to reduce the Artillery to a very small force. He withdrew almost all the heavy guns from all the fortresses on the coast; and proposed to employ very little of even Horse Artillery in the field; and Lieutenant-General Floyd concurred with other officers who spoke with me upon the subject in thinking it much too small.

The principal outrages during this time were committed in the county of Limerick, though they were frequent also in other parts; and lights at night upon the mountains of Wicklow and Wexford, and the reappearance of the disaffected in Dublin, excited considerable alarms.

During the month of August I made a short tour with the Lord-Lieutenant to the Military Road, in the county of Wicklow, to the Gold Mines of Croaghan, and to Arklow, where we saw the field of battle between the rebels and General Needham, in which Father Murphy was killed. We went also to view the Harbour of Wicklow. In consequence of this tour a large extension of the Military Road was resolved upon, and special reports were ordered to be made upon a more effectual plan for working the Gold Mine, and also for improving the Harbour of Wicklow.

I went afterwards with Colonel Littlehales, in September, to Athlone, where General Scott guarded the passage of the Shannon with a light brigade of 3000

men, formed from all the light companies of the Irish Militia; and from thence we went by Aghrim and Ballinasloe, to the Bay of Galway, returning by Portumna to Birr and Banagher, along the line of the Grand Canal to Philipstown, &c. The policy of constructing internal fortresses for the defence of Ireland was made so evident upon this tour (from military memoirs, conversation, and observation), that a full despatch was afterwards forwarded to England upon this separate matter.*

On Sunday the 4th October, while I was preparing in the Phœnix Park an arrangement in detail of proclamations, orders, and guards for the tranquillity of Dublin (like those which were adopted on the landing of the French in Bantry Bay); and making out a list of persons to be arrested in case of the expected invasion, despatches came from England announcing the signature of the preliminaries. I went straight to the Lord-Lieutenant, who was then at the Castle, and immediately communicated the news by letter to the Lord Mayor of Dublin; the Lord-Lieutenant wrote also to the Chancellor and to the Primate.

The State prisoners in Ireland were soon afterwards gradually liberated; and by the Chancellor's directions a special Commission was sent into the counties of Wicklow and Kildare, to try some of the most sanguinary of the rebels.

During the same two months of August and September, we had some very important matters to transact respecting the future system of Government for Ireland, in which we were counteracted by Lord Pelham and the

* At p. 28, No. 28, of the 5th volume of the *Duke of Wellington's Supplementary Despatches*, is to be found a long letter (written apparently without any knowledge of the despatch mentioned in the text), in which Sir A. Wellesley, after explaining the impossibility of fortifying the whole Irish coast, recommends the establishment of a naval station in Bantry Bay, and the construction of five forts; one in Munster, Connaught, and Ulster, and two in Leinster, "of the second or third class of fortification, sufficient to hold the magazines and stores, and to resist any attempt to carry them by a *coup de main*."

Duke of Portland in England, and by Lord Clare and Mr. Cooke (then my Under-Secretary for the Civil Department) in Ireland.

Lord Pelham sent over a most extraordinary proposition (nominally with the approbation of the Cabinet) for reducing the Lord-Lieutenant (in Lord Pelham's own phrase) to a mere Lord-Lieutenant of a county; and for transferring all the business and patronage to be executed and administered by the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

An answer was sent to this by the Lord-Lieutenant, at great length, controverting the proposed plan; and Colonel Littlehales was sent over to England with written instructions upon the general question, and upon numerous points of detail for immediate adjustment with Mr. Addington, Lord Pelham, and the Duke of York.

Mr. Addington and the majority of the Cabinet, upon receiving the Lord-Lieutenant's answer to Lord Pelham's proposal, laid aside the discussion of the proposal, and it was never resumed. Accordingly the Lord-Lieutenant proceeded as before, to act upon the original authority of his commission. And Lord Cornwallis very strenuously supported Lord Hardwicke's system by communicating to Mr. Addington his decided opinion in its favour. But the Duke of York yielded nothing of the military patronage, and the Lord-Lieutenant never obtained a single ensigncy for any Irishman whom he recommended, and he recommended none others.

Lord Clare conducted himself disrespectfully and disingenuously towards the Lord-Lieutenant upon many occasions, public and personal, and impertinently towards me by his letters and language to other people, but it made no difference in the uniform propriety with which Lord Hardwicke treated him; and by my indifference to it, he at last thought fit to say that I had set my foot upon his neck. After having abused Cooke without measure upon former occasions, he now became

his confidential friend; and in the same manner countenanced Lord Tyrawley, whose character he had formerly been accustomed to treat with the indignation and contempt it merited. The death of Lord Clare in the month of January 1802, delivered the Irish and also the British Government from great trouble. He had rendered signal service to his country in a crisis of great violence *; but his love of power and the restlessness of his temper, made him unfit for the station of Chancellor, when no longer coupled with the overruling authority which he had exercised as a Minister before the Union.

Mr. Cooke, dissatisfied with his situation under a Lord-Lieutenant and Secretary, whose confidence he forfeited by his insolent language and froward manner, withdrew himself in October, by desiring to resign upon a sinecure office and pension, which he applied for through Lees, the Secretary to the Irish Post Office.

The leading persons who served Lord Hardwicke's Government effectually and cordially were Sir W. Meadows (the Commander of the Forces), Colonel Alexander Hope (the Adjutant-General), Mr. Corry (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), Annesley (Commissioner of Revenue), and Lord Kilwarden (Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench); besides Marsden and Littlehales (the Civil and Military Under-Secretaries).

Mr. Foster, who was ready to lend his assistance to Lord Hardwicke's Administration, provided he could also have had the sole direction of it, was treated with

* Lord Clare, when Attorney-General in 1789, had been the principal support of Lord Buckingham's Administration on the Regency question: when the Opposition, headed by Lord Charlemont in one House of Parliament, and by Grattan in the other, carried an Address to the Prince of Wales, requesting him to assume the Regency (*Hardy's Life of Charlemont*, vol. ii. p. 174); but the character given him (*Ibid.* p. 403) corresponds very nearly with that attributed to him above, as Hardy speaks of him as "ambitious, acrimonious, impatient, overbearing," at the same time doing him justice as "above all circumvention or corruption," and too kind-hearted to use, though too fond of "speaking daggers."

civility and respect, but not invited to assume the reins of Government. He resided the whole of my time in the county of Louth, and visited Dublin only occasionally.

The Primate *, from whom we expected material aid in Church matters, and in correcting the notorious abuses of the public charities throughout Ireland, upon which I had repeated conversations with him in London and Dublin, took unreasonable offence very early at Bishop Beresford's translation from Clonfert to Kilmore, and from that time remained sullen and inactive at Armagh.

Much as these matters engaged our attention, the principal object of lasting policy to which our exertions were directed was the regulation of the several offices of Revenue and Expenditure, and the accommodating all details of Finance as much as possible to the British model.

In consequence of general conversations with Mr. Addington, and also upon this point with Mr. Pitt before I left England, I issued circular orders in the month of August, calling upon all the departments of Government; civil and military, in the Lord-Lieutenant's name, to make returns of their establishments, duties, salaries, &c., in the same manner I had practised in the British Parliament when Chairman of the Finance Committee. Several returns to these orders were made during the time of my continuance in Ireland, but very reluctantly, and sometimes evasively. Those from the Customs and Excise were very imperfectly delivered, within a few days only of my departure from Dublin.

Some Boards, however, underwent revision, and were considerably reformed.

The Revenue Board was divided into Customs and Excise, according to a plan long ago proposed under successive Lords-Lieutenant, but never till now exe-

* The Hon. W. Stuart, who in 1800 had been translated from St. David's to Armagh.

cuted. The two Senior Commissioners were superannuated, and others appointed to the head of each separate Board, with the addition of two new Surveyors-General. By an examination of the different Reports formerly made by Commissioner Beresford (who stayed in the north of Ireland during all this autumn), and by further inquiries through Mr. Croker, the Acting Surveyor-General of the Port of Dublin, the frauds long extensively practised upon the Quay of Dublin were greatly checked, and a stricter discipline established throughout this department, where, by the confession of all the principal Commissioners, taken down by myself in writing, it had been shamefully and corruptly relaxed.

The Board of Accounts was instructed in making up its annual account of defaulters according to the modes used in England.

The Stamp Office was new modelled throughout, and the consignments to distributors, as well as their form of appropriation in their returns, were settled in a way to be practically correct and useful. This office (like the English Stamp Office), having the management of a revenue which had risen gradually from small beginnings to a considerable degree of importance, had been wholly neglected and produced little.

The Board of Works, whose accounts had not been settled for many years, and whose conduct, under Lord Tyrawley, was demonstrated to be criminally negligent, if not corrupt, was made the subject of a special inquiry by three Commissioners, viz., the Right Hon. Sackville Hamilton, the Right Hon. Richard Annesley, and the Hon. Colonel Napier, Comptrollers of Army Accounts; and upon their report the office was new-modelled, and directed to act according to a new set of instructions framed under the Lord-Lieutenant's particular direction.

The Military Finance was, by a long negotiation between the War Offices of England and Ireland, assimilated in many important points.

Several other matters were brought under the consideration of Government during the same period. The distilleries, fisheries, mines, canals and harbours, and the state of the public charities and hospitals in Dublin, and the condition of the poor throughout Ireland.

The question of opening the distilleries after the dearth of grain in the preceding years, produced a long and detailed despatch from the Lord-Lieutenant to Lord Pelham, in which, by the aid of Mr. Corry, the general taxes were fully discussed, and the particular circumstances of the crisis minutely detailed. This despatch was received with approbation in England, and the distilleries were afterwards opened in both countries.

The consideration of the state of the Fisheries led to a strong opinion that the Nymph Bank was the only part of the Irish seas deserving attention, and an experimental survey of the bank was projected for the ensuing season.

Upon the Mines, Mr. Kirwan was prevailed upon to draw up the heads of a Bill for establishing a Mining Board, which should bring over from England and the Continent persons sufficiently skilled to work the known mines, and explore others, particularly of coal, which are supposed to abound in different parts of Ireland.

The Navigation Board, having received various plans for extending the canals and improving the navigation of the Shannon and the Dublin Harbour, new surveys of the Shannon were ordered, and Mr. Rennie was brought over to survey and report upon Dublin Harbour; which he did accordingly, with remarks upon the plans of Sir Thomas Page and others, who had been antecedently employed for the same object.

The public charities and hospitals of Dublin were recommended to Parliament for an augmentation of their annual support; and Lord Hardwicke gave 300*l.* and I gave 200*l.* towards the establishment of a Fever Hospital in Dublin.

Lord Hardwicke gave audience in Dublin Castle two

days in every week till my arrival. His Excellency then limited his audience days to Tuesday, which was the regular day for holding a Privy Council; and I gave audience twice a week; besides attending in Dublin Castle every day in the week, from eleven till five o'clock.

The Lord-Lieutenant attended Divine Service, with his family, at the Castle chapel, till it was shut up to be repaired or rebuilt; and then he went regularly from the Park to St. Werburgh's, the parish church of the Castle. He gave public entertainments in St. Patrick's Hall, and in the state apartments in the Castle; and kept up a splendid table at the Park, to which all persons of distinction belonging to the different branches of Government in Dublin, and those who passed through it to or from England, were constantly invited. In the Castle a library was formed of books upon Irish affairs and British history and politics, into which the collection formerly belonging to the Irish House of Lords was brought; and many parliamentary reports and papers were added to it from England.

The Parliament House was sold during this period to the Governors and Company of the Bank of Ireland, for 40,000*l.*; with a private agreement that the two Chambers of Parliament should be accommodated to the uses of the Bank in some such manner as should completely alter their former size and appearance.

The invalids of the Royal Hospital at Kilmainham were placed upon a more liberal allowance of clothing and diet, with the intention of giving them advantages equal to those of Chelsea Hospital.

A complete survey of the City of Dublin was made out by the Commissioners, of wide streets, under my directions; marking out all the actual and intended improvements under their management. And I brought this Board and the Ballast Office to act in conjunction for widening and extending the quays along both sides of the Liffey up to the Barracks and the Royal Hospital.

The University of Dublin conferred upon me the

degree of LL.D. before I went over, in consequence of the privileges I had obtained for them in the Irish Copyright Act; the Corporation of the City gave me their freedom in October; and afterwards, in April, voted me an address of thanks for my services, which they presented to me by deputation in London, with a silver box and inscription, &c.

I arrived in London on the 30th of January, and on the second of February, I rendered to Mr. Addington a full account of the last six months' Administration in Ireland, by reading a detailed summary* of its proceedings, and explaining each of them more fully in conversation; at the same time I produced heads of the business of Ireland for the ensuing session of Parliament.

Lord Clare having died during my journey from Dublin to London, Sir John Mitford agreed, within a few days after my return, to accept the Great Seal of Ireland, with a peerage, and a salary of 10,000*l.* nett British, and the retiring pension of 4000*l.*, which the King is by Act of Parliament authorised to grant in Ireland, as well as in England, to any person who has been Chancellor.

By the joint advice of Charles Yorke and myself, Wickham, already a Privy Councillor, was recommended to Mr. Addington and to Lord Hardwicke as my successor; and I was elected Speaker of the House of Commons on the tenth of February. Sir W. Grant, Master of the Rolls, proposed me for the chair, and Baker, M.P. for Hertfordshire, seconded the motion; Charles Dundas, M.P. for Berkshire, was proposed by Sheridan, and Lord George Cavendish, but the vote passed without a division.

I delivered copies of all my Irish papers to Wickham from time to time, and as, upon Lord Mendip's death, which happened at this juncture, I could not vacate my seat for Helston to take the seat for Heytesbury,

* This summary is given in the Appendix to this year.

which was vacated by Lord Clifden, Wickham came into Parliament, with the Duke of Marlborough's assent, for that borough.

The details of establishment, and expenses attending the taking possession of the office of Speaker appear amongst my accounts. To Lord Redesdale, I paid about 1060*l.* for the state coach, built in 1701, and repaired in 1801. I paid him also, for wines, about 1000*l.*, and for furniture about 500*l.*

The business of the session was light, except the debates on the Peace, when we had, one debate till six o'clock in the morning, and another till four.

Before the close of the session a committee reported on the additions wanting to the House of Commons for committee rooms, &c.; and I represented to the Treasury the damp insecure state of the Speaker's House, in consequence of which the family part of it was pulled down in the autumn, and new foundations laid in a manner to secure the building from any risk of damp in future. A side-wall ten feet deep was built parallel to the new foundations, and about six feet in front of them; the foundations themselves were twelve feet deep, and laid upon a bed of hard grouted materials, which served as a bed to the original wall built at least as early as Henry VIII.

The session was terminated on the 28th of June, by a speech from the King, and on the following day the Parliament was dissolved. My speech to the King was printed, according to the usage which Addington told me that he had introduced in order to prevent misrepresentation. Fifty copies was the whole impression, and these were sent to the principal officers of State in Great Britain and Ireland, &c.

We spent the months of August and September at Eastbourne, where Mr. Addington came for a great part of the time; and I had much confidential communication with him upon the events of the last two years, and the general state of politics at home and abroad, both in Europe and India; but more particularly upon

the affairs of Ireland, the Catholics, &c., relative to which latter point, I wrote at large with his approbation to Lord Hardwicke, Lord Redesdale, and Wickham; the substance of the communication was: "That nothing more than occasional relief, and in the nature of a compassionate allowance, could be granted to the Irish Catholic priests, and this to be expressly marked as carrying with it no recognition of their establishment, jurisdiction, titles, or assumed authority;" adding also to the same communication, "that even this could not be done but after, and subservient to, some leading measures for making a better provision for the Protestant Established Church." All this had been previously discussed and agreed to by most of the Cabinet, and also by Lord Castlereagh.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS IN IRELAND FROM JULY TO DEC. 1801; AND OUTLINES OF IRISH BUSINESS FOR 1802, REPORTED TO AND READ OVER WITH MR. ADDINGTON, FEB. 1802.

IRISH AFFAIRS, JAN. 1802.

I. *Their present state, including a detailed Account of the Government Transactions there during the last Six Months.*

II. *Outline of the Public Business of Ireland for the Year* 1802.

I. THE GOVERNMENT.

1. Lord-Lieutenant.—Unsettled powers; question whether a Lord-Lieutenant from England, administering the protection and patronage of the Crown subordinately to the King's Ministers—or a Government by Lords Justices, setting up for themselves, and tyrannising over their countrymen—or endeavour to govern Ireland entirely by a Secretary of State at Whitehall.

N.B.—No communication has been made to Lord Hardwicke in answer to the paper transmitted by him to Lord Pelham, containing remarks upon Lord Pelham's proposition.

2. Chief Secretary.—Unsettled emoluments of the Office in Ireland. Unsettled footing of the Irish Office in London.

Query.—Suppress its establishment as an Office accredited with the Secretary of State for the Home Department; and as hitherto employed for soliciting Civil Patents and Military Commissions in the place of the old office of Resident Secretary (Fremantle and Jenkinson). And transfer the agency and fees of this business to the Secretary of State's Office; leaving no establishment in London for the Chief Secretary to transact his business, except what assistance he may personally obtain for himself from Dublin Castle, &c.

N.B.—The salary and fees of this Office upon Peace Establishments, viz. about 5000*l.* British, are not more than adequate to the necessary expenses of the office conducted with economy; having houses and servants in each country; and the removal of a family twice a year across the Channel.

3. Private Secretary.—Unprovided present subsistence, and no certain future provision.

4. Lord Chancellor (Lord Clare).—Hostile to any Government by Lord-Lieutenant. Desirous himself to be Lord-Deputy, or at the head of Lords Justices; and for Mr. Cooke to be Secretary of State under him.

5. Commander of the Forces.—Sir W. Meadows, cordially co-operating with the Lord-Lieutenant.

6. Royal Buildings, &c.—In the Castle a library for printed books upon Irish affairs. Orders also given for arranging the State Papers, &c., in the Birmingham Tower. Plans and estimate ordered for rebuilding the Castle chapel, and adapting it to choir service.

Parliament House.—A proposal transmitted to the King's Ministers for selling it to the National Bank of Ireland, or appropriating it to Public Offices.

Phœnix Park.—Walls and roads, ordered to be repaired; rights of Park officers ascertained; encroachments defeated.

7. Union Engagements.—Many liquidated. No vacant office has been given away without considering to what promise it could apply.

II. Finance.

1. Treasury Statements of Annual Income and Expenditure of Ireland assimilated to the British series of Public Accounts, and adapted to the same annual and quarterly periods.

2. Revenue Board.—Examination into its past state by personal conference with each of the four senior Examiners; all of them agreeing that it was corrupt and inefficient; proved also by lists of Officers accused and protected; proved also by reports

of Mr. Beresford, in 1792; and of the Acting Surveyor-General, Mr. Cooke, in 1800.

Division of the Board into Customs and Excise, as projected in Lord Townsend's and Lord Buckingham's Administration, and executed now in the manner prescribed by Mr. Beresford, in a letter written by himself on a former occasion; a copy whereof was delivered to me by Mr. B., with a recommendation of its being adopted for this purpose at this time.

Dublin Quay Regulated. — Tobacco stores, gate notes, &c., under advice of the Board, and upon suggestion and report of Mr. Croker, who was appointed acting Surveyor-General of the port, with joint approbation of Mr. Beresford and Mr. Annesley, and established in the Office of Surveyor-General by Lord Hardwicke.

Regulations enforced prohibiting all Revenue Officers from being traders.

Revision and Amendment of the Distillery Laws considered.

Throughout Ireland the Surveyors-General ordered to report quarterly from their actual surveys.

N.B. Dublin Customs' duties are one half, and Dublin Excise duties one quarter of all Ireland.

A mode settled for passing Collectors' accounts in Dublin with more expedition, and (as in England) without their personal attendance.

Cruisers called in; inspection of repairs ordered, and a report upon the future complement of men for their Peace Establishment.

Additional officers appointed, not for patronage, but upon special reports of the Board, and upon considerations of personal merit, viz. two Surveyors-General, one Inspector-General, and one Inspector, and two Landwaiters in the Port of Dublin.

General plan for prevention of smuggling and illicit distilleries prepared for consideration.

Commercial regulations between Great Britain and Ireland considered, and reported upon by the Commissioners of Revenue.

3. Auditors of Public Accounts. — Their accounts methodised on the British plan, and brought up to 5th January, 1802, showing the actual amount of debts due from Public Accountants.

4. Stamps. — After a previous investigation by the Treasury and personal conference repeatedly with the Commissioners.

Establishment settled on the British model, and report upon the building purchased for the use of this Office before the Rebellion.

Consignments to distributors, and the appropriation of their receipts new modelled.

Debts from deceased and dismissed distributors called in; securities of distributors raised.

Inspectors-General ordered upon survey throughout Ireland, and to make quarterly reports; and two new inspectors added at inferior salaries, with prospect of succession to the higher, if merited.

Revision and amendment of the Stamp Laws prepared.

N.B. Last summer, in the counties of Wicklow and Wexford, several Justices of Peace refused to convict in penalties for evading the Stamp Duties.

5. Crown Lands. — A report upon their state, extent, and value ordered to be made out in thirty-two books for the thirty-two counties.

6. Board of Works. — Appropriation of issues between May 1801, and August 1801, viz. 20,000*l.* having been called for, and no account being produced of time or place, of articles supplied, or work done, nor any check appearing; an inquiry directed for settling an efficient system of checks for the future; report made and instructions issued to take effect prospectively from 5th January, 1802.

N.B. By Comptroller of Accounts (who has controlled the Barrack Accounts), and two Privy Councillors.

All the old accounts ordered to be balanced and closed to 5th January, 1802, where a debt stated in November to be 11,000*l.*, was stated in January to be a debt of 37,000*l.*; though no new work was ordered or executed in the interval. And it appeared also that no final accounts had been settled with the tradesmen for * years. How many years?

N.B. — During the period within which this debt was incurred there was an annual issue to the Board of from 25,000*l.* to 32,000*l.* a year. No new building, except one house, which cost 3000*l.*, was erected. The Castle or public apartments are worse furnished than any private gentleman's house in England.

Note. — The First Commissioner of the Board, consisting of seven, is also sole Barrackmaster-General; and has the sole expenditure of nearly 300,000*l.* a year. And the latest of his accounts delivered in to be audited, viz. March, 1800, did not come down to a later period than 25th March, 1796.

N.B. Lord Tyrawley, from a very moderate beginning, is reputed to have made a landed property of 10,000*l.* a year, out

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of private trusts (viz. law arrears, &c.), and out of public offices, viz. the Board of Works and Barrack Office.

As to the economy of his department, *ex uno disce omnes*.

Ready-made sentry-boxes sent in carts from Dublin to Cork. Extravagant expense of carriage, and destruction of the articles themselves.

III. The Law. — Official Appointments.

1. Solicitor-General to be Baron of the Exchequer; approved by the Chancellor.

2. This made way for an Union engagement to Mr. M^c^Clelland.

3. Dr. Browne appointed Prime Serjeant upon the advice of Lord Clare, in the place of Mr. Stanley, removed to the Board of Accounts.

4. Lord Kilwarden recommended Mr. Moore to be Third Serjeant; an office without emolument, and long vacant and unsolicited; now filled by a very respectable lawyer and M.P.

In the execution of martial law (August, 1801), Lord Hardwicke discontinued the special powers (of inflicting any punishment short of death) given by Lord Cornwallis to Sir James Duff — Sir James admitting they were no longer necessary.

N.B. At Sir James Duff's instance no public notice was given of this alteration. Sir James stating apprehensions of bad consequences following if the discontinuance of the powers was known (but Lord Clare and Mr. Cooke made it known everywhere to everybody).

Also general orders were given for attendance of a barrister as Deputy Judge-Advocate, and a more regular taking down of all proceedings before these courts.

After news of the preliminaries of peace (October 4), no more Court Martials were ordered.

Special Commissions sent (December, 1801) to try the rebels in the counties of Wicklow and Kildare.

Refusal to proclaim districts of the county Limerick under the Insurrection Act, though desired by some Limerick magistrates in Quarter Sessions, January, 1802.

State prisoners and others. All county gaols cleared of all prisoners ordered for transportation. State prisoners in Kilmainham and Newgate detained simply under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, liberated by advice of the Chancellor a few days before the expiration of the Act.

N.B. Napper Tandy to be banished, and not to be transported. See Lord Cornwallis's letter to the Duke of Portland.

Fort George prisoners detained under the same Act, brought to Ireland, and bailed, and liberated.

The rest included in the Banishment Act, reserved for fresh pardon to be conditioned for transportation.

Military Dépôt at New Geneva cleared by transportation or enlistment, or liberation.

Dublin Prisons cleared partly by trial under Special Commission, and partly remain to be liberated before expiration of Martial Law Act.

Dublin Penitentiary re-established; Crown Solicitor's Office divided into six circuits.

IV. Church.

Castle Chapel. — Service re-established and since transferred to the parish church till the chapel is rebuilt. A rota of chaplains appointed for every month in the year. Four of the most distinguished Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, have volunteered to preach in their turns.

Promotions. — Archbishop of Cashel (Agar) to Dublin; an Union engagement. Bishop of Kilmore (Brodrick), recommended to Cashel (upon excellence of character). Hesitation about translating the Bishop of Clonfert (Beresford) to Kilmore. Mr. Alexander to be made a Doctor of Divinity, by University of Dublin (at the instance of Lord Hardwicke), and destined for the vacancy on the Bench. (This an Union engagement.)

Dissenters. — In the Synod of Ulster, the Lay Elders have obtained a preponderance over the Minister; that is, the population party over those attached to the Government.

Catholics. — No movement amongst them; they profess to be contented for the present.

All Catholic chapels, remaining unsurveyed or damaged since the Rebellion in 1798, have been ordered to be surveyed, or repaired, or rebuilt, in the same manner as the rest have been throughout Ireland.

Maynooth College. — Being visited by Lord Kilwarden, Lord Norbury, and Lord Avonmore, in the summer; Lord Kilwarden reported to the Lord-Lieutenant the apparently novel establishment of a school for lay education; there being a dormitory erected on Government ground for boys to be taught by the priests in their College; and reported it as a matter foreign to the original objects of the institution.

Lord Hardwicke desired an intimation to be given to the agent of the College, that this lay school should not be persisted in, and that it should gradually subside.

Lord Clare sent for Dr. Ivory, and bade the College proceed. Conversation and explanation from Lord Clare to the Lord-Lieutenant, and written statements obtained from Lord Clare and Lord Kilwarden of their different understanding of the nature of this institution.

V. Army.

1. Ordnance. — Consolidated with the British into one system under the Master-General.

2. Transport Service. — Put under the transport Board in London.

3. Irish Militia. —Volunteered for defence of England during the war.

4. Safety of Dublin provided for against insurrection.

5. Proclamations issued for driving the maritime counties, and fixing dépôts for cattle, &c.

6. Recruiting for the Army and Navy, stopped upon the news of preliminaries of peace.

7. Militia Colonels called upon to name their dépôts for arms, accoutrements, &c., upon the return of peace, according to the Irish Militia Act.

8. Yeomanry. — Exercise days reduced to one in a fortnight.

9. Commissioners and expenses suspended? and stores selling.

10. Military roads projected, and authority for executing them desired from the Ordnance in England.

11. Plan for internal defence by erecting fortresses submitted for consideration.

12. Assimilation of British and Irish Military Finance considered, reported and consulted on, in London and Dublin.

VI. The Country at large.

1. Public Boards. — Well affected to the Government; the City of Dublin by addresses; Trinity College by various testimonies; Yeomanry by offers of continuing their services in peace, &c.

Proposition for granting to the University of Dublin the privilege of printing Bibles, &c., in concurrence with the King's Printer in Ireland, who now has that right postponed by Lord Pelham, upon a misconception of the facts.

2. Leading Persons. — Lord Clare, professedly disaffected to a Government by a Lord-Lieutenant, and hostile and inconsistent in his letters and conversations.

Mr. Foster, distant, but professing to have laid aside anti-Union feelings. A long and free conversation with me on Irish politics.

3. Mass of Inhabitants. Population, 3,000,000, says Dr. Duigenan, and above 4,000,000 says Mr. Foster.

Peaceable, except in a small district in the country of Limerick, where there is a violent party spirit.

Industrious, and turned to farming, ploughing matches, draining. Ballinasloe Farming Society. Dublin Society.

Emigration, ascertained to amount to about 1500 persons in ordinary years; and from 500 to 700 in the two last years of scarcity (viz. 1796, and 1800). All from the Northern parts.

Publication of extracts from Travels in America circulated by Government at a cheap rate through the North, to check the spirit of emigration.

Value of property in houses and land rising; twenty years' purchase the average price hitherto. Lands near Dublin rose in the last year greatly; and all houses in Dublin except six or eight family residences.

Cottagers well subsisted on potatoes, milk, pig, and fuel, but ill-paid in wages; their potatoe grounds, usually a quarter of an Irish acre*, being let to them at a rent of from 5*l.* to 8*l.* an acre. And that rent to be paid in day's labour, low rated; viz. from 4*d.* to 8*d.* a day in most counties.

Charities — In Dublin, Cork, &c., for improving the condition of the poor, and relieving the sick; patronised and extended. New plans received.

4. Manufactures. Linen reviving. The new doctrines in bleaching hazardous; and their effect hitherto bad; though Mr. Foster patronises the process of the chymists. Cotton trade, little and declining. Thread trade thriving.

5. Money. All the South and Midland supplied by paper; and an excessive number of small notes from three to five shillings, called silver notes.

Gold only in the North, and in the Linen Counties.

Expense of discount for subsisting the army, nearly 14,000*l.* per annum, on its present establishment. Means for reducing this expense are under consideration.

The difference of currency between Ireland and Great Britain immaterial in mercantile transactions, but heavily complained of by individuals passing between Ireland and Great Britain; and desirable so far that it should be done away. Query? By

* An Irish acre is rather more than an acre and a half English. Eight Irish acres are equal to thirteen English.

a new copper coinage, whereof by law only twelve pence should go to the shilling in Ireland.

N.B. Such a measure might bear hard practically on the day labourer, who would probably get less for a shilling at twelve pence, than for a shilling at thirteen pence, *e. g.* six shillings will now buy thirteen pounds of meat at six pence per pound, but after the currency is made British, the same six shillings will only buy twelve pounds, *et sic de cæteris.*

So also the tenant paying rent would not find his guinea tell for so much as before, by one shilling and ninepence. And therefore he must either pay in fact a higher rent by getting more guineas towards it: which would be unjust; or his landlord must reduce his nominal rent-roll by 8 and one-third per cent., to make it correspond with the value of the coin which he is to receive.

The difference of exchange, strictly commercial, can only be turned by the balance of trade upon a revival of the linen exports and exports of corn.

N.B. Perhaps the whole difference taken together, viz. of currency and mercantile exchange, being upon an average of 11 or 12 per cent., may for a time operate as a salutary inducement to many of the Irish Country Gentlemen to reside upon their own estates.

6. Navigation. — Agreements for canals, by making new lines or reducing old tolls, nearly completed to the extent of the 500,000*l.* granted before the Union.

A report of a plan for improving Dublin Harbour is preparing upon a further survey, and a reconsideration of all the former plans.

N.B. Also a survey and report upon Holyhead Harbour, and the means of improving it; which appear to be important in their object and easy of execution.

N.B. Also a plan and estimate for a bridge across the Menai.

7. Corn Trade.—Malting and distillery resumed.

All persons, mercantile and agricultural, desire an open trade to Great Britain.

Only some doubt whether it might not be better to begin by keeping some sort of limit to the exporting price, as a protection against starving in seasons of great scarcity.

Mr. Foster is for the open trade; but thinks no measure upon it should be taken without a previous inquiry, in council, or in Parliament, during the session, to satisfy the public.

Mr. Beresford seems to think some limit to the export price might be useful.

The Dublin cornfactors and brewers are strongly of opinion, with the landed proprietors, in favour of an unrestricted intercourse.

Ireland, subsisting chiefly on potatoes, and using corn as a surplus for trade, may be made the granary of the United Kingdom. This is the best and shortest way of introducing industry, opulence, and civilisation.

8. Mines.—The gold mine in the county of Wicklow has been accurately surveyed under Mr. Kirwan's direction, and an effectual trial of it is projected for this year.

A general plan of a Mining Board has been suggested by Mr. Kirwan, the object of which is to obtain the aid of practical mineralogists from foreign countries (viz. Saxony, &c.), at the public expense; and to give the assistance of their skill gratis to all persons disposed to adventure in working old mines, or opening new mines.

The policy of such an institution is to make the employment of capital in mining less hazardous and more profitable.

Coals.—The great desideratum in Ireland; and the collieries, though numerous, are ill-worked.

9. Fisheries.—A general report upon their state, and the best means of improving them, is in preparation. But the Nymph Bank, off the coast of Waterford and Cork, is represented by the most intelligent persons as the only fishery which promises much success. An experimental survey of it is ordered to be begun in April, 1802.

IRISH BUSINESS FOR THE YEAR 1802.

I. *In England.*

Besides, 1. Settling the powers of the Lord-Lieutenant; and 2. The official establishment and provision for his chief secretary. And 3. For his private secretary.

In Parliament, measures to be brought forward.

Budget to be opened for Ireland conjointly with the British.

N.B. The estimated increase of Irish revenue for 1802 is about 300,000*l.*

Annual public accounts of income and expenditure for Great Britain and Ireland.

Query.—The whole series to be moved for by Vansittart as a Government measure.

Rebellion Laws.—Repeal of Insurrection Law.

N.B. Revoke the existing proclamations, amend and perpetu-

ate the County Police Act for constables, &c. Revive and perpetuate the Chalking Act.

Query.—A separate Bill for so much of the Insurrection Act as makes the examination of persons murdered, or kept away by force from being witnesses, admissible in evidence.

Query.—So much of the Insurrection Act as requires arms to be registered, and smith's forges to be licensed.

Query.—Whether to give any notice of proceeding upon these matters, before signing the definitive treaty.

N.B. To confer upon them with the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Clare, if in England, and the Attorney and Solicitor-General.

N.B. Let the Martial Law Act expire with 25th March, 1802, unless the definitive treaty be signed much sooner.

Elections.—Continue the Bill for trial of contested elections. Query.—Five years?

Revenues.—Repeal so much of 14 & 15 Car. II. c. 9. (Irish Act) as relates to collectors passing their accounts in Dublin personally. See Report of Commissioners of Revenue on this subject, 11th January, 1802.

Additional salaries to Commissioners of Appeal, &c., to be charged on revenue establishment.

Trade.—Bills for regulating the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland. Query. Any wanting? And for exempting M.P.'s from duties on private effects passing between the two countries. Query. Exemption for eight persons?

Post Office.—Extend franking privilege to Irish officers for public business now transacted in England; viz. Chancellor of Exchequer, Secretary of Treasury, Secretary of Commander of the Forces, War Office, Clerk for Pay Lists, Irish Bishops to and from their diocesan houses.

Query.—Has this privilege been given to the Secretary of the Commander of the Forces in Scotland, or to the War Office Clerk for Pay Lists in England?

Corn Trade.—Query. Open entirely, or facilitate the importation by altering the exporting price from Ireland?

On Local Establishments.—Query. Increased votes for, 1. Dublin Society?

N.B. This must be granted, if at all, upon a joint estimate and proportional contribution, until there is a surplus of the Irish Consolidated Fund, which, by the Act of Union, may then be applied to local purposes.

2. Farming Society, and to incorporate?

N.B. Policy of subjecting these bodies as much as possible to the King's Government.

3. House of Industry?
4. Lock Hospital?
5. Hibernian Soldiers' School?
6. Kilmainham Royal Hospital?

N.B. To put this on the same footing as Chelsea.

Concordature.—N.B. Much exceeded the last two years by pressure of cases of misery.

Gold Mine.—N.B. It has hitherto repaid itself, but requires a more effectual experiment, as advised by Mr. Kirwan.

N.B. The Act of 1797 appears to be expired; and the authority for working it is gone. Paving Board.—Debts. Wide Street.—Debts and Defective Funds. Board of Works.—Debt. New Votes (or Bills) for encouragement of Fever Hospitals in Dublin, Cork, &c.

N.B. This is to be only where the hospital has been actually established, and a very large proportion—say three-fourths or two-thirds—actually subscribed and paid by individuals, and so annually.

Query.—The like for encouragement of schools of industry and friendly societies.

Penitentiary House of Correction in Dublin.—See the Irish Act of * , authorising the Lord-Lieutenant to establish it.

N.B. No prison but Newgate, or the county gaol, for persons sentenced to be transported, and unfit for transportation by age, sickness, youth, &c.

Military Roads.—For peace of the country as well as for field operations.

N.B. The military roads in Scotland are defrayed by annual grant.

Query.—Any expedition through Connaught, or parallel to the Shannon?

Query.—Mining Board.—A grant for rewarding skilful miners employed in surveys, or superintendence of miners.

Bridge over the Menai. Structure of Holyhead.

Query.—On joint estimate for Great Britain and Ireland, in proportional contribution by public grant? It must be joint.

N.B. The harbour of Dublin may in another year want a further grant beyond the 500,000*l.* granted to the Navigation Board, if its proposed contracts with the inland canals should be sanctioned by Parliament.

Also in Parliament expect Process Bill, for the Court of King's Bench, Common Pleas, or Exchequer in Ireland, to be brought forward by Lee and Ponsonby.

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N.B. The twelve judges of Ireland have drawn a Bill, and they agree in the utility of the measure.

The only difficulty is in the mode of sending a proper compensation to the Exchequer officers, who may be injured by the change of practice.

Bill to disqualify revenue officers from voting at elections (like Crewe's English Bill).

Bill for encouragement of drainage.

N.B. Mr. Foster talked to me about a Bill once prepared by him for this purpose, like my amendment of the General Enclosure Bill.

Bill to fix times of holding circuits in Ireland.

This was prepared a few years ago, but laid aside on an understanding that the judges would go at regular seasons. But this year Lord Avonmore fixed the Connaught circuit in October. Yet in England no precise law has been made upon the subject; and it may be injurious to the character of the Irish judges to press a law upon them which is not required here.

Motion for producing returns of official establishments in Ireland.

N.B. They are under consideration in Ireland by the King's Government, in the constitutional exercise of his prerogative, and Parliament will not interpose its visitatorial powers until it sees that the exertion of the prerogative has failed, or has been misapplied.

Motion for repealing the 6 per cent. duty on retailers.

N.B. There is no such tax in England; and it produces only * in Ireland.

Bill for more effectually ascertaining the qualification of the 40 shilling freeholders, and regulating the same.

N.B. Much wanted. The increase of registered freeholds is enormous, and increasing. The frauds are said to be flagrant.

Bill for charging interest upon debts against public accountants in Ireland, as in England.

Query.—Unobjectionable; but requires minute examination into the technical rules of accounting in Ireland.

2. Business to be transacted with the officers of state—military finance.

Assimilation of the British and Irish practice, to be arranged in the War Office, through the Secretary of State, upon the foundation of a despatch from the Lord-Lieutenant, which will be sent upon that subject, together with regulations proposed by the Comptroller of the Army Accounts in Ireland.

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Estimates for nine months—particularly barracks.

Cavalry to be foraged by the Commissary-General, or subsisted by the innkeepers in Ireland.

N.B. See opinion of Sir W. Meadows, &c., for Ireland.

Quarter-Master-General's Accounts to be audited according to the regulations submitted by the Comptroller of Army Accounts in Ireland.

Quarter-Master-General's department to be regulated as will be proposed in the Lord-Lieutenant's despatch, if approved of by His Majesty.

Medical Board to be continued during peace.

Yeomanry to be reduced as shall be settled, upon consideration of the statements to be produced for Ireland.

Militia reductions to be effected.

1. By discharge of aged, infirm, &c. N.B. This already ordered.

2. By enlisting the light brigade into the line. Query.—This may require an Act.

3. Disembodying the rest, either gradually, and employing them intermediately in making military roads, &c., or disembodying them at once, immediately after the definitive treaty.

N.B. They will be previously marched to their proper counties: the Linen Board mean to give looms to the colonels of regiments, for such men as can use them, and be settled to the trade.

See also the return of the periods for which they are liable to serve, and the numbers of each period.

4. A new ballot upon the establishment of peace.

Query.—Any new proportion of quotas for the counties?

This to be inquired of the most intelligent M.P.'s., who are Militia Colonels, or otherwise intelligent in county business.

Query.—On half-pay?

Enable the King to dispense with the restriction of not receiving half-pay with any other office of profit.

N.B. According to the last Irish Acts, the King had not the same power in Ireland as in England.

II. In Ireland.

1. General election. See lists of expected returns and their disposition. Settle between contending interests, to which Government support shall be given.

2. State matters.—Revoke proclamations of disturbed districts, previous to bringing in the Bill for Repealing the Insurrection Act.

3. Civil arrangements.— Exchequer and Treasury. Settle Auditor's Office. Ditto Tellers.

N.B. The Teller has about from 50,000*l.* to 70,000*l.* in his hands, as he tells me; his security is (I believe) 30,000*l.*

Revenue Boards.—Appoint Chairman and Deputy Chairman, with additional salaries.

Query.—Divide the Boards by Law? See Lord Clive's draft of a Bill for that purpose; but perhaps not expedient in that mode, on account of the increased number of officers which would have become necessary, viz., Collectors.

Settle Receiver-General's office.

N.B. His profits are in exact proportion to his receiving bills at long dates, instead of cash from the Collectors.

Establish an effectual plan for preventing smuggling and distilleries, by combining civil and military authority. See Mr. Cooke's Report in January 1802.

4. Military arrangements.—Barrack Master-General's Office to be suppressed—(Query, with compensation?) and the business to be conducted by the Deputy Barrack Master-General, under superintendence of the London Barrack Office for the whole army.

N.B. Lord Tyrawley has recently proposed to retire; and he might now have compensation for *life* from the Commissioners; as for a loss consequent upon the consolidation of the army since the Union.

5. Ecclesiastical.—Visitation of the four provinces by the four Archbishops.

Appropriation of funds to the building of parsonage houses and purchasing glebes.

N.B. In the hands of the Treasurer of First Fruits, Archbishop Agar, 44,000*l.*; compensation for ecclesiastical dues, 45,000*l.*; total, 89,000*l.*

6. Miscellaneous.—In the Lord-Lieutenant's Household Establishment. King's Chaplains (as in Scotland) in the Civil List; and take them from Trinity College, Dublin.

Historiographer for Ireland to be appointed in like manner as in Scotland.

N.B. It is important to have such a body as Trinity College, Dublin, attached to the Government.

Papers relating to Ireland, and Letters written or received by Mr. Abbot during the latter part of 1801, *and the beginning of* 1802, *from Lord Hardwicke, Lord Redesdale, the Bishop of Meath, Colonel Littlepales, &c.: also from Lord Hardwicke to Mr. Addington, Lord Kilwarden to Lord Hardwicke, &c.: also some to Mr. Abbot from Mr. Jackson, our Minister at Paris.*

Heads of Private Instructions to be observed by the Earl of Hardwicke in the execution of his office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, namely:

I. For the support and advancement of the Church of Ireland as by Law Established.

II. For the better administration of the King's revenue.

III. For the re-establishment of good order, and the preservation of the King's peace.

IV. For the introduction and encouragement of general habits of industry amongst the people.

I. As to the Church.

Besides the strict attention to be paid upon this subject to the articles of your Public Instructions*, the following points must be specially observed: —

If you are applied to by or on behalf of the Roman Catholics respecting the making of any provision at the public expense, or otherwise, for the maintenance of the parochial clergy of the Roman Catholics, you are to give for answer that you have not received any instructions from His Majesty on that head.

Secondly. With respect to any change in the system of tithes, or their mode of collection, if any application should be made to you upon that subject, you are to give the like answer.

Thirdly. You will give the Protestant Dissenters to understand, that there will not at present be any variation in the mode or amount of allowance made to nonconforming ministers. But that it is your intention to take that subject into your consideration at a very early period.

Fourthly. You will pay strict attention to the support and encouragement of the Established Church, and to the due observance of its rites and ceremonies; more especially by your own example in your own household and residence in the Castle of Dublin.

* The "public instructions" appear to be the same that are given to all Lord-Lieutenants.

And for the better maintenance of its discipline, you will with due circumspection exert your whole authority for dissolving and preventing the unnecessary union of benefices, and for the erecting of churches and glebe houses, and providing glebes upon all benefices where they are severally wanting. You will also encourage and enforce the residence of the parochial clergy to the utmost of your power; and transmit from time to time for His Majesty's information, the names of all Archbishops, Bishops, and other dignitaries of the Church who shall absent themselves from Ireland.

Fifthly. You will also inform yourself of the state of the Public Schools throughout Ireland; and of what may be necessary for rendering them more especially serviceable for the promotion of religious and moral instruction.

II. As to the Revenues.

In addition to the matters required by the several articles of your Public Instructions upon this head, you will inform yourself how far the collection of His Majesty's Revenues may be rendered more simple and less chargeable, without detriment to his service. And also how far the *expenditure* thereof may be more effectually checked and controlled. And you will transmit in writing, what shall appear to you as fit to be done therein, either by instituting a commission for stating and taking the public accounts of that part of the kingdom, or otherwise.

You will also be particularly careful to observe the 21st Article of your Public Instructions, for not confirming or granting *Reversions*.

III. As to the Peace of the Realm.

Besides a strict observance of the Articles of your Public Instructions respecting the administration of justice, you will be careful, in the execution of the powers committed to you by Parliament for exercising *Martial Law*, that you proceed therein, so long as those powers shall exist, with the most anxious solicitude for the due discharge of the trusts reposed in you; so that justice be administered with the utmost regularity, promptitude, and efficiency; and that mercy may nevertheless be extended to all cases where the exercise of it will not counteract the purposes of the law.

You will also forbear to pardon offenders who are not recommended by the Judges of the Court before whom they have been tried and convicted, unless upon special circumstances, whereof you shall cause a minute to be made and transmitted to His

Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department in London.

IV. As to the Habits of National Industry.

First. You will endeavour to infuse a spirit of industry into the body of the people, and to turn them from habits of idleness to the pursuit of any objects which may employ them in labours profitable to themselves and useful to the country.

Secondly. With the same view you will encourage them to engage in all plans of internal improvement, namely, canals, drainage, roads, and the like; and especially in agriculture, for the increase of tillage to their own emolument, and for the exportation of grain to supply the consumption of Great Britain. With reference to this last important point, you will also take into your consideration the expediency of reviving the bounties upon the inland carriage of corn (chargeable upon the revenue of Ireland, or upon the general revenues of the United Kingdom); and such other means as may appear most likely to restore Ireland to the state of an exporting country, which it began to be within the last thirty years, and continued to be in a largely increasing proportion, until the repeal of the said bounties, and the late unfavourable seasons, and unhappy disturbances.

Considerations upon the situation of the Lord-Lieutenant and his Chief Secretary. Drawn up by Lord Pelham, Secretary for the Home Department, and by him communicated to Lord Hardwicke in September 1801.

The Union would seem to create a necessity for a very determinate change in the political situation of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland and his Chief Secretary; and yet the powers of each in the relation in which the countries stand have not yet been settled or defined. The former acts under instructions nearly similar to those which governed the conduct of his immediate predecessors, and the latter possesses the same authority that the former Secretaries had.

If the chief object professed in proposing the Union was to identify the interests of both countries, which had before been considered as distinct, it follows, I think, that even the appearance as well as the reality of separate councils directing the Government of each, ought carefully to be avoided. Now, as it is generally understood, that the Government of a country resides

wherever the power of selecting men for official situations is exercised, it would seem that appointments in general to offices in Ireland ought as much as possible to appear at least to originate in the British Cabinet, or in some power in England immediately deriving from the source of all patronage in the empire. But how far the reality ought to accompany the appearance is a question not so easily determined. A few observations, however, preliminary to the consideration of it, may not be useless.

In settling what should be the character and situation of the Lord-Lieutenant now that the Union has taken place, some assistance may be collected from the experience of His Majesty's reign, during which period Ireland has been at one time governed by British laws; at another it has been governed by its own Parliament alone; and now it is subject to an United and Imperial Parliament. During the first period the Lord Lieutenant did not always reside. The sessions of Parliament were only once in two years, and his Secretary was not always a member of it. The Chancellor and many of the Judges were Englishmen; the concerns of Ireland were frequently discussed in the British Parliament, and the minister of the day took the lead in those questions.

During the second period, when the Independence of the Irish Parliament was admitted, annual sessions were the inevitable consequence, and the political importance of the Lord-Lieutenant and his Secretary were materially affected. The former became constantly resident, and the latter gradually acquired the power and influence of a minister entrusted with the management of an independent Parliament, and many of the offices which had been held by persons residing in England, such as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Vice-Treasurer of Ireland, were made efficient by the creation of a Board of Treasury, and a resident Chancellor of the Exchequer. Together with these causes there were others which operated powerfully in augmenting still further the political consequence of the Irish Government. The important questions agitated in Parliament, together with the danger to which the state was exposed by disturbances in different parts of the country, created so urgent a necessity for the exercise of all the power and influence that the constitution would admit of on the part of the Lord-Lieutenant and his Secretary, that their recommendations even to those offices reserved by the King in his patent and instructions to the former, were so uniformly attended to that they had, in point of fact, the disposal of them; and when their augmentation of power was conferred, the salaries

attached to the two offices of Lord-Lieutenant and his Secretary were proportionally increased; however, during this period the residence of the Chief Secretary was not indispensably required excepting during the session of Parliament. And even in the year 1783, the Attorney-General acted as the minister in the House of Commons, and the Secretary seldom spoke except in cases where the interest of Great Britain, or anything personally affecting the Lord-Lieutenant, was discussed; and occasions have arisen (in this period too) where the Secretary has not been in Parliament.

It was not till the year 1796 that the principal share of the debate on the part of the Government was supported by the Secretary, and then, for the first time, the office of Secretary of State was added to that of Chief Secretary, in order to give the latter more rank and consequence in the country. By the extinction of the separate Parliament of Ireland all the ministerial duties connected with its existence are transferred from the Lord-Lieutenant and his Secretary to the King's Ministers in London. A similar transfer is made of the duties which a distinct military establishment created, and, as the financial interests of the two countries are united, except in instances specially provided for in the articles of the Union, the duties of that important department also must in a very considerable degree be transferred; so that the two stations of Lord-Lieutenant and Secretary are reduced far below their political importance, even previous to the year 1783.

With duties so abridged it is evident that the present local administration in Ireland cannot require more than a small portion of the patronage which it before found necessary, considering it, as it always should be, the means only of carrying on the Government, not a right, the possession of which can be claimed further than the occasions of the State require the employment of it.

The situation of Ireland, considered with reference to the dispositions prevalent among the inhabitants, and its distance from the seat of Government, requires a strong, vigilant, and energetic local executive, directing its chief attention to the police of the country, but acting in immediate subordination to the general executive government of the empire. In order to enable the Lord-Lieutenant to discharge this line of duty, the selection of men proper to exercise the offices of assistant barristers, together with all other offices immediately connected with the police of the country may rest with him, that is, his nominations to such offices, when vacant, should in general be

conclusive, although his express powers should only extend to the recommendation of persons to fill them.

All reports touching the internal state of the country from the Judges and other officers, as well military as civil, whose duty it is to furnish them, should be made to him, and the substance of them, when deemed of importance sufficient to merit the attention of the Imperial Government, should be conveyed by him to the Secretary of State for the Home Department; the Lord-Lieutenant, however, to be invested with discretionary authority to act without communication on such reports, as well as in all other instances where promptitude and immediate decision may be deemed by him indispensably necessary; in short, he must be the only acknowledged channel of communication between Ireland and the Government of the Empire, in discharge of which duty he will have an opportunity of representing the conduct of individuals, which will necessarily give him an influence in Ireland; and his local knowledge of its interests and situation will give a weight and authority, not only to his opinions upon measures, but also to his recommendation and protection of individuals.

To define with precision the extent of his patronage is impossible; his practical power and authority, under these circumstances, may easily be conceived, and will be felt sufficiently to answer every legitimate purpose of executive government.

The patent and instructions must be altered in every point which gives a separate and independent authority, especially in military concerns; and he must, in consequence of such alterations, be released from all responsibility on those points. A power, perhaps, of ordering the movements of troops, for the purpose of preserving the peace, should be specially given.

"*A Counter Statement in Answer to the Paper of Considerations, &c.*," *drawn up by Lord Hardwicke, Oct.* 1801.

The paper containing the statements and opinions of His Majesty's confidential servants, delivered by Lord Pelham to Colonel Littlehales*, and communicated to Lord Hardwicke, entitled "Considerations upon the situation of the Lord-Lieutenant and his Secretary," appears to convey a general outline

* Colonel Littlehales was the Military Under-Secretary of the Irish Government.

of the alterations proposed to be made in the patent and instructions to the Lord-Lieutenant.

It is necessary therefore maturely to consider, before any final resolution is taken upon this important subject, how far such a change in the powers and duties of the Lord-Lieutenant is consistent with the preservation of His Majesty's interests, and the due administration of his affairs in Ireland. In regard to the historical statement of the powers represented to have been exercised by the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland at different periods, both before and since the independence of the legislature, Lord Hardwicke forbears to enter into any consideration of that part of the subject; not being prepared to accede to there having been so great a difference in the powers entrusted to the Lord-Lieutenant in these different periods; but conceiving that the only question which appears in the opinion of His Majesty's confidential servants to be at present material to discuss and determine, is, What may be the best practical mode of administering the King's Government in and for this part of the United Kingdom.

Upon the question of patronage, which seems to be a principal point in the paper of considerations, Lord Hardwicke will offer such observations as appear to be necessary upon this particular subject, both with reference to the line proposed to be drawn, and his own view of the principles upon which a different line may be more expedient. And he will afterwards submit to the deliberation of His Majesty's Ministers the many important powers contained in his patent and instructions, which it is proposed to revoke; pointing out such of them as in his judgment appear to be indispensably necessary to the safe and successful administration of His Majesty's affairs in Ireland, upon British principles, conformably to the true spirit of the Union.

In treating of this matter of patronage, it is stated in the paper of considerations that "the situation of Ireland, when viewed with reference to the dispositions prevalent among its inhabitants, and its distance from the seat of Government, requires a strong, vigilant, and energetic local executive, directing its chief attention to the police of the county, but acting in immediate subordination to the general executive government of the empire."

Lord Hardwicke is fully impressed with the policy and necessity of a strong, vigilant, and energetic executive in Ireland, and admits that "patronage should always be considered as a means only of carrying on government, and not as a right, the possession of which can be claimed further than the occasions of the State require the employment of it;" but he does not conceive

that the occasions of the State will be sufficiently answered by restricting the patronage of the Lord-Lieutenant to the power of "recommending persons proper to exercise the office of assistant-barristers, and other offices connected with the police," or to any description of appointments of so limited a nature. Neither will the opportunity of representing the conduct of individuals necessarily give a sufficient degree of weight and authority to make the King's Government in Ireland respected and efficient.

In order to preserve a complete view of the principles on which alone Lord Hardwicke thinks the King's Government in Ireland can maintain its proper respect and beneficial influence, and most effectually promote the measures of the King's Ministers, both in and out of Parliament; he begs leave to submit the following considerations:—

To administer the principal part of the patronage of the Crown through the hands of the Lord-Lieutenant, must, as Lord Hardwicke conceives, give to the King's Government a greater degree of respect and influence, because from local knowledge, information, and constant habits of observation, he must have better means of forming a correct judgment of the character of individuals and state of affairs in Ireland than it is reasonable to suppose can be obtained at a greater distance. The information of the Lord-Lieutenant will arise from continual opportunities of comparing the communications which he may receive as applicable to the same persons in various relations, without the risks of being misled to surrender the interests of the King's service to the importunity of ill-founded pretensions, or the misrepresentations of interested individuals and their connections.

Lord Hardwicke also conceives that in the hands of a Lord-Lieutenant, patronage can be more advantageously applied than if the management of it were removed to England, because from a more intimate knowledge of the true circumstances of the country in which he is resident, he will be frequently enabled to conciliate and attach leading interests by a judicious distribution even of the lesser favours of the Crown amongst the objects of its protection.

Concurring entirely with the opinion expressed in the paper of considerations, that a strong, vigilant, and energetic local executive is essentially necessary in Ireland, Lord Hardwicke begs leave to observe that the just and fair administration of this patronage will add considerably to the strength of the King's Government there. And this circumstance is of itself a further proof of the expediency of administering it in Dublin rather than in London; always bearing in mind that it is to be subordi-

nate to the measures and views of the King's Ministers. For, in Lord Hardwicke's judgment, the degree of strength necessary to be given to the King's Government in Ireland, cannot with prudence or safety be estimated by its present state of tranquillity, when it is recollected of what individuals the population of this country is composed, and that it contains at present an army of more than 50,000 men, independent of all the armed volunteers.

In submitting the necessity of continuing to the Lord-Lieutenant this degree of power and authority, Lord Hardwicke invariably bears in mind that the Lord-Lieutenant must and ought always to be the confidential agent and servant of the King's Ministers; and, of course, cannot be suffered to apply this patronage to any other object than the support of their views and measures, from which there is no longer any possibility of departing since the removal of the local Parliament.

But it is manifest that frequency and facility of communication between people of all descriptions and the local executive is indispensably necessary in a country composed of such active and discordant members; and, whatever may be the state and condition of Ireland at some distant period, it is now much too soon to consider it on the footing of an English county.

Lord Hardwicke further submits whether His Majesty's confidential servants are prepared to consider this country as sufficiently settled for such a mode of administration; and whether a Lord-Lieutenant with contracted and enfeebled powers can soothe or allay the bitter tempers, party animosities, and divisions of the inhabitants. If this duty be left to the Commander of the Forces, the country may possibly be kept in a state of tranquillity, but such a system will surely never add to the strength or prosperity of the empire.

In the opinion of Lord Hardwicke, consequences of two sorts must inevitably and immediately follow from such a reduction in the power of the Lord-Lieutenant, as is proposed in the paper of considerations.

The pageant of an office with authority so inadequate to the rank and name which it is still proposed to continue, must speedily lead to its abolition; and the Ministers would be again driven to the necessity of committing the powers and confidence of the Government to interested and irresponsible individuals, by which means the true interests of the country would be endangered, and, instead of the wholesome principle of British Government, a spirit of faction, cabal, and party would prevail throughout the country, and excite the discontents of the people.

Another evil to which Ireland would be most fatally exposed, and to which it is already grievously subject is, that of misrepresentation.

Any communication made to the British Government of matters passing in Ireland, is at present easily referred to the Lord-Lieutenant and investigated by him; falsehood is detected, and the true representations may be acted upon before much mischief results from the delay. But, should the seat of business and favour be transferred to a greater distance, all statements made to the Ministers, or in Parliament, must remain uncontradicted for a length of time, and after the impression has been made, the truth may be ascertained and told to very little purpose.

With these views of the question, Lord Hardwicke has endeavoured to consider the extent of authority proposed to be assigned to the office of Lord-Lieutenant, and the line most expedient to be taken in any reduction of it which may be necessary. In regard to the limits of patronage, Lord Hardwicke feels it his duty to pay the greatest deference to the opinion which seems to be entertained of the impossibility of defining with precision the extent of the patronage proper to be vested in a Lord-Lieutenant; but he is unable to satisfy himself upon that point, inasmuch as in the patent delivered to him and to every preceding Lord-Lieutenant, a clear and distinct line is drawn, by reserving to the Crown certain enumerated honours and offices, and leaving all others to the absolute disposal of the Lord-Lieutenant. Lord Hardwicke, however, has always been perfectly disposed to admit the necessity, upon true Union principles, of abridging in some degree the patronage which has hitherto been annexed to the office.

The following are the offices which the Crown, by the terms of the patent, has hitherto thought fit to reserve to its own immediate disposal: —

1. Chancellor. — 2. Treasurer and Under-Treasurer; Two Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. — 3. Judges. — 4. Attorney-; and 5. Solicitor-General. — 6. Military Governors. 7. Archbishops. — 8. Bishops. — 9. Deans.

In addition to these, Lord Hardwicke conceives, and submits it to the consideration of His Majesty's Ministers, that it may be very proper and expedient to enlarge this enumeration in the patent, and to leave in the hands of His Majesty's Ministers the following honours and offices, divesting the Lord-Lieutenant of the power which he has hitherto been permitted to exercise in regard to any of them: —

1. All honours exclusively, (excepting the discretionary and occasional use of ordinary knighthood). — 2. Privy Councillors. — 3. Privy Seal. — 4. Chancellor of the Exchequer. — 5. Clerk of the Pells. — 6. Auditor. — 7. Teller. — 8. Postmaster-General. — 9. Provost of Trinity College.

If His Majesty's Ministers should think it advisable to leave the remaining patronage in the hands of the Lord-Lieutenant, upon public grounds and for public uses, Lord Hardwicke will endeavour to the best of his ability to conduct the King's Government in Ireland; and desires it may be explicitly understood, that it will be his invariable object to employ these means for the advancement of His Majesty's interests, and the support of the measures of his Administration. If any other line be taken, he cannot forbear expressing his strong apprehension, that a greater reduction of the patronage hitherto entrusted to the Lord-Lieutenant may prove materially injurious to the general influence of Government, by lessening the respect due to the office of Lord-Lieutenant, and by depriving him of the means of conciliating and attaching the supporters of the King's Government, and of rewarding the meritorious services of persons unconnected with Parliamentary interest.

It is proper to be observed, that the description of patronage which, upon this view of the subject, will remain with him, is the more necessary to be left in the hands of the Lord-Lieutenant, as, since the union of the two countries, and the consolidation of the army, the whole of the military patronage has been taken from him.

Lord Hardwicke perfectly concurs in the opinion that the Lord-Lieutenant must be the only acknowledged channel of communication between Ireland and the Government of the Empire. He also agrees to the propriety of leaving to the Lord-Lieutenant a power of ordering the movement of troops for the purpose of preserving the peace.

With regard to the patent and instructions to the Lord-Lieutenant, which it is proposed to alter "in every point which gives a separate and independent authority," Lord Hardwicke thinks it necessary now to state that the following powers, as given by the patent and instructions, are, in his opinion, essential to the authority of a Lord-Lieutenant, and necessary to be recognised and continued:—

1. The power of pardoning crimes (except treason against the King's life), of remitting fines, and issuing proclamations for regulating the police.

2. Of ordering issues of money from the Treasury. And,

3. Compelling accountable officers to account to the Exchequer.

He is equally of opinion, and submits it accordingly, that the following powers and directions contained in the instructions (which appear to have been originally drawn with great equity and wisdom) are also necessary to be retained.

Article 1. Inquiry into the state of the kingdom.

2nd. Settling Church matters, and bestowing Crown livings upon proper persons.

4th. Calling upon the Commissioners of the Revenue to give an account of their proceedings in the management of their commission, and the execution of their trust.

20th Article. "Offices reserved to the Crown not to be filled up without communication with the Lord-Lieutenant."

Having specified these articles of the patent and instructions as necessary to be retained, Lord Hardwicke is equally impressed with the propriety of communicating with His Majesty's Ministers upon any of the points herein contained of public and general importance, previously to his making any definitive arrangement concerning them. Lord Hardwicke understands, with much satisfaction, that it is the intention of His Majesty's confidential servants, that the grace of communicating the grant of favours from the Crown, in regard to all civil appointments in Ireland, shall be vested exclusively in the Lord-Lieutenant; and to this circumstance Lord Hardwicke attaches considerable importance, as it will clearly manifest to His Majesty's subjects in Ireland a system of cordial and entire co-operation in all the acts and intentions of His Majesty's Ministers, in respect to this part of the United Kingdom.

Upon these principles, therefore, Lord Hardwicke feels fully disposed to concede and relinquish all the remaining powers in the patent and instructions, with which his Sovereign was graciously pleased to invest him, and upon the foundation of which he undertook the administration of His Majesty's affairs in Ireland; and, in deference also to what appear to be the views and wishes of the King's Ministers, so far as in conscience and honour he feels himself at liberty to yield to them, as well as in consideration of the terms of personal respect and esteem which His Majesty's confidential servants have been pleased to express, and by which he feels himself highly gratified.

Hardwicke.

Instructions given to Colonel Littlehales (when going to England), for conferring with Mr. Addington. [*No date, but apparently drawn up at the end of August*, 1801.]

[Most Secret.]

The fullest information of every description touching the administration of His Majesty's affairs in Ireland must be given to Mr. Addington, and his approbation and concurrence obtained for communicating the whole of your instructions, or any part of them, to any of the departments therein named, with such additions or variations as he may direct.

Independently of the several matters to which these instructions relate, you are to confer with Mr. Addington exclusively on the following most important considerations.

1. The principle of Government.

As the Government of Ireland has been delegated to a Lord-Lieutenant, he must necessarily be entrusted with the exercise of so much of the prerogative of the Crown in the dispensation of favours as will make that form of government effectual; and it will always appear by his public conduct and official correspondence how far those powers have been truly and faithfully applied to their proper object, the real interests of the King's service.

Unless such weight and influence are granted to the Lord-Lieutenant for the time being, that form of government cannot either manage the political concerns or promote the local welfare of the country, and no person will feel any motive, inducement, or advantage in addressing himself to the King's representative there. The inevitable consequence of rendering the office of Lord-Lieutenant inefficient will be the transfer of the powers of Government to some of the principal individuals or families in Ireland, whose local passions and interests peculiarly disqualify them, however honourable in character, from governing their countrymen; and the aversion to the Union, which obtained very strongly in many parts of Ireland, and still continues unabated, will be unhappily confirmed to the incalculable injury of the empire.

In addition to the beneficial effects which may justly be expected from placing an English nobleman of high respectability at the head of the King's Government in Ireland, the most important step towards cementing the Union will be the employment of Irishmen of character in ostensible offices in England; and it is further to be desired that, in all practicable instances, they should feel the parental influence which governs the country of the United Kingdom.

2ndly. The finance of Ireland.

You are to submit to Mr. Addington the expediency of my proceeding to regulate the collection of the public revenue in a more systematic, impartial, correct, and effectual manner than at present obtains, without individual severity or oppression.

You will also submit to him the expediency of establishing more effectual and satisfactory checks on the public expenditure, with reference to the proper economy of official establishments, civil and military, and also to the due application of all the public monies to public services.

3rdly. You will likewise take the sentiments of Mr. Addington on the most advisable mode of proceeding to correct such abuses as may appear in these important subjects, submitting to him, whether the same should be undertaken simply by the authority of the Executive Government, or delegated hereafter either to a Committee of the House of Commons, or to a Commission to be established by Act of Parliament.

In case the powers of the Executive Government in Ireland should be found on experience inadequate to these ends, it will then be observable that a proceeding by committee will be better, so far as it carries with it the favour of public opinion, and a greater degree of despatch and efficacy, and may nevertheless withhold its inquiries from every retrospect which might be inconvenient or embarrassing, without producing any adequate benefit to the public; whereas the execution of a Parliamentary Commission, being placed beyond control, might digress into inquiries prejudicial to the interest of good government, and applicable to no useful purpose.

4thly. It seems requisite that some latitude of action should be recognised as belonging to the office of Lord-Lieutenant, in any unforeseen situation to which his instructions may not specifically apply, and on which he may be prevented by circumstances from receiving His Majesty's commands from England.

HARDWICKE.

LETTER FROM COLONEL LITTLEHALES TO MR. ABBOT.

[Private and Confidential.]

London, Sept. 9th, 1801.

My dear Sir, — I request that you would be good enough to state to the Lord-Lieutenant that I took the earliest opportunity of bringing before Lord Pelham the instructions which His Excellency was pleased to give me, after I had obtained Mr.

Addington's permission for that purpose. 'Accordingly I had yesterday the honour of a long interview with his Lordship, in which, entering fully into the discussion of the various objects of my mission, I endeavoured as much as possible to impress on his Lordship's mind that it was not a question of unnecessary consequence and authority for which His Excellency was anxious, but merely that the several points of my instructions might be brought to a satisfactory conclusion; a circumstance the more requisite, inasmuch as since the Union it was admitted generally that a definitive arrangement as to the precise duties and powers of the Lord-Lieutenant was urgent and indispensable, and that on public considerations it might possibly be deemed advisable not to weaken or diminish the influence of the Chief Governor in Ireland beyond what might be proper for carrying on the King's service. I endeavoured also to demonstrate to Lord Pelham that I was prepared, in compliance with His Excellency's command, to discuss my instructions upon Union principles.

Lord Pelham had the goodness to give me a patient hearing, and in the progress of the discussion made the following observations, which his Lordship wished to be received as such, or rather as intimations to me, to be informally communicated to His Excellency.

1st. In regard to the correspondence with the Secretary-at-War being considered of a distinct and direct nature — in point of fact it is not strictly so — the Lord-Lieutenant is not in the habit of writing to him, but of requesting his opinions from time to time on military regulations, through the medium of his Chief or Under-Secretary for the War Department.

2ndly. It seems proper that His Excellency should send separate despatches to the Secretary of State on the three points in my instructions, under the head of the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, with His Excellency's opinions and sentiments fully thereon; and likewise, that under that part which relates to the Secretary-at-War, a distinct communication should be made by His Excellency to Lord Pelham, as to the subject of provision for the clothing of the army now serving in Ireland intermediately between the new and old periods, and previous to the commencement of the new regulations, for the payment of which no fund has hitherto been appropriated. His Lordship seemed to think that the amount of the sum, and the best means of defraying the charge, should equally be stated by him.

Lord Pelham was further of opinion that His Excellency

should, through him and not the Secretary-at-War, move His Majesty as to the necessity of appointing District Field Officers and Paymasters, as an obvious measure connected with the late arrangements for carrying on the recruiting service in Great Britain and Ireland.

As far as I could collect from Lord Pelham, there seemed no disposition on his part to withhold from me any opinion respecting my instructions; and, in desiring to be understood as not making any complaint, his Lordship said that every communication on the part of the Lord-Lieutenant which was not made directly to the Secretary of State for the Home Department was apparently informal; and although his Excellency might with propriety obtain occasionally, in the manner hereinbefore stated, the opinions of the Secretary-at-War or Commander-in-Chief, on military matters, yet the correspondence of that description must be considered as indirect, no Act of Government of Ireland being regular or conclusive on which the King's commands, through the Secretary of State, had not been previously given.

Lord Pelham, in illustration, cursorily remarked that a Cabinet on Irish affairs could only be convened by him as Secretary of State; that the points touching my instructions to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, mooting questions of public magnitude and state policy, could alone be taken up by him upon full representations from his Excellency.

I also understood, privately, from Lord Pelham that, in regard to the subjects, extent, and periods of the correspondence between him and the Lord-Lieutenant, they must be indefinite; but that they ought to be frequent and general upon all points connected with the administration of the King's Government in Ireland. For example, in consequence of the late severe scarcity of grain and provisions, and the effects resulting therefrom, it seems obvious that a full and, as far as possible, comprehensive detailed despatch on the state of the harvest in Ireland is requisite to be transmitted to him, for the information of His Majesty's confidential servants; and, in reference to martial law, and the necessity and expediency of its continuance, reports should be procured from the Judges of their opinions of the situation in which they found the several parts of the country through which they passed in the course of their late circuits; and the same, it should seem, ought to be forwarded to his Lordship by His Excellency, with his own remarks upon them deduced from other sources of information.

There are a variety of subjects emanating from the letter and spirit of the King's instructions, which ought to form, in his

Lordship's view of the matter; constant sources of communication with him; and the intercourse and understanding in this respect between the Lord-Lieutenant and Secretary of State should be perpetual, and classed under the usual heads of *official*, *private*, *confidential*, and *secret* correspondence.

Lord Pelham, however, merely threw out these ideas generally to me; adding that as my instructions embraced a State question of importance, he should, in all probability, convene His Majesty's Ministers upon them, and take the whole into serious consideration, conferring with me from time to time until a definitive arrangement was settled and approved by His Majesty, upon any points on which his Lordship might require His Excellency's sentiments; in the interim, however, Lord Pelham remarked that the public business of Ireland with Great Britain would of course be prosecuted uninterruptedly between the Lord-Lieutenant and the Secretary of State.

I am, my dear Sir, &c. &c., most faithfully yours,

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

[Secret.]

Royal Hotel, Pall Mall, Sept. 20th, 1801.

My dear Sir,—The interview which I have had with Mr. Addington this morning has been generally very satisfactory on the subject of Irish affairs; and although his other serious occupations prevented him from entering sufficiently into my instructions to enable him to make any direct communication on the subject, yet it appeared to me that he was fully impressed with the necessity of a latitude of action being granted to the Lord-Lieutenant; but thought that on Union principles exclusively, whenever there was time for a communication with His Majesty's Ministers, and for the reception of their sentiments through the regular channel of the Secretary of State, it was highly expedient that that line of proceeding should be adopted.

I felt it my indispensable duty to bring forward again, and to state in the most unreserved manner, the incalculable mischief that would inevitably arise to the tranquillity and well-being of Ireland, if it was in the contemplation of His Majesty's confidential servants to establish that particular form of government for that country which seems so objectionable in the opinion of all those who are in any degree capable of viewing the subject on rational and impartial grounds. I repeated that however honourable in character, wisdom, integrity, and utility certain respectable Irishmen might be, it was quite impossible for

them to divest themselves of native prejudices, partialities, and animosities, which rendered them more immediately in Ireland incapable of administering the King's Government on liberal and advantageous principles. Mr. Addington appeared fully to concur with me in this chain of reasoning, and to admit generally my position. He further confidentially remarked, that with those with whom he acted, there could only, he conceived, be one sentiment on this important point.

Mr. Addington said, "Be so good as to tell Abbot that I have been seeking for an opportunity of writing to him; but that the magnitude and extent of my avocations (for which he will give me credit when he knows them) have entirely prevented me from fulfilling my intentions."

I am, my dear Sir, &c. &c., most faithfully yours,

E. B. LITTLEHALES.

[Private and Confidential.]

London, Sept. 24th, 1801.

My dear Sir,— . . . I went yesterday to Wimbledon and returned this morning. I had a very general and unreserved conversation with Mr. Addington in regard to the situation of things in Ireland; and, although he thought it unnecessary to discuss my instructions seriatim at present in the way in which he had formerly proposed, in consequence of Lord Pelham's being about to prepare some statement touching the powers of the Lord-Lieutenant, which is to be submitted to the Cabinet, yet he appeared to think that any alteration in the present form of Government in that country was entirely, at this period, out of the question; and, on my observing that it seemed requisite not to diminish the due and proper weight, influence, and dignity, which ought necessarily to attach to the Viceroy, as any degradation of actual authority would tend to lessen the King's interests in Ireland, he stated generally, that his opinions went to strengthen, as far as was consistent and right, the consequence of the Lord-Lieutenant, to enable him to administer impartially, and with temperance, energy, and decision, the public concerns of that country. At the same time he wished me to understand that these sentiments were in conformity to those which he had lately given to me, and which I have conveyed to you.

Upon the whole, Mr. Addington is, I conceive, deeply impressed with the policy of governing Ireland upon Union principles, and that, at least, for a considerable period, this object can best be accomplished by placing at the head of affairs there

an English nobleman of respectability. Until the subject, however, comes formally under discussion before the Cabinet, I rather apprehend that Mr. Addington allows me to use his name confidentially to you, for the information of His Excellency, to dispel any apprehension that may have been entertained as to the supposed intentions of the King's servants to propose any change of system in Ireland; and to satisfy Lord Hardwicke's mind, that there is no alteration on his part, of opinions generally in respect to the mode of administering the public concerns of Ireland, from what there was when His Excellency took his departure from London. . . . . .

I am, my dear Sir, very faithfully yours,

E. B. Littlehales.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM MR. ABBOT TO MR. ADDINGTON.

Dublin Castle, Sept. 27th, 1801.

My dear Sir,— . . . Having broken in upon your attention so far, I cannot help proceeding to assure you of the satisfaction which we have derived from Colonel Littlehale's account of your kindness to him during his present visit to England. It is a great consolation to us, placed in a scene not without its peculiar difficulties, to know that your mind has received a true and correct impression of our views in this Government. Union principles are those by which we most cordially wish to have every modification of its powers regulated. We have always thought that the notion of an *imperium in imperio* would be absurd in itself since the Union, and possibly fatal to the very measure itself; but we have at the same time wished it to be kept in view that, whatever be the local form of Government, it must be rendered *efficient* for its professed ends. Of unreserved communication and intercourse there cannot be too much; and, if it is thought most beneficial to do away with the old practice and letter of the King's instructions, which direct an immediate correspondence upon revenue matters with the English Treasury, and that this, as well as every other correspondence, should pass through the Secretary of State for the Home Department, no possible objection can occur on this side of the Channel. All we wish to know upon this matter is, how we are to act, and it will be most constantly and punctually observed: *et sic de cæteris.*

In Colonel Littlehale's last letter, he gives to understand indirectly, that the abolition of the Irish Office in London is looked to as a probable measure. Have the goodness to under-

stand, that in this and any other arrangement which may be supposed more personally to affect me, I shall not object at all, if the arrangement, after full and thorough consideration, is deemed expedient, Only, I think that the British Minister in the House of Commons will scarcely wish, upon system, to embarrass himself with the conduct of all the inferior parliamentary business in Ireland — the bills of official detail, of local interest, of municipal regulation, &c. — which the current business of a country, as yet, in many respects, unlike England, must constantly require. And if the Prime Minister does not undertake for these bills and proceedings, I should wish to have it considered to what place are the Irish Members of the House of Commons, the parliamentary clerks and agents, the mercantile and manufacturing interests, whose concerns may be in discussion before the House of Commons, to resort for the purpose of conferring with any person in the King's Government who may have the conduct of these matters in the House of Commons.

I apprehend it must be thought impracticable for all these persons, with their tribe of followers, messengers, &c., to have a daily and hourly access to the private house of any member of Parliament holding the situation in which I am placed; besides which clerks and accommodation for them must be provided by him to do the business which he has to transact in respect of his official character. I believe this never yet happened; and I think the inconvenience must be manifest. It is not, I assure you, for any unnecessary accommodation or patronage to myself that I shall ever be found earnest, for I am not so blind as to suppose my official life to be a matter of permanent consideration. We all, I am confident, look only to the system in itself, and that which may suit those also who are to follow us. . . . . .

Believe me ever, my dear Sir, most truly yours,

C. Abbot.

LETTER FROM MR. ABBOT TO COLONEL LITTLEHALES.

[Private and Confidential.]

Dublin Castle, Oct. 3rd, 1801.

My dear Sir, — Judge of the difficulties which are thrown in the way of our Government by treachery and misrepresentation whilst we are in the hands of our enemies, by the fact which I have to state.

You will recollect that His Excellency thought fit to ask Sir

James Duff, whether he thought in his district martial law should continue to be executed under the special powers given by (or extorted from) Lord Castlereagh. You may recollect his answer, that he had not meant to proceed longer upon that authority; but that if the *revocation was known*, the mischief to the country might be great.

You may next recollect the reply, that His Excellency approved of Sir James Duff's proposed course of not acting longer under his special powers, but for the reasons assigned by Sir James Duff, His Excellency would not make any public communication of this alteration.

Now would you expect, or can any man living approve of the Lord Chancellor's writing to any body that these powers had been revoked, *passing over him*, as he says (*Hinc illæ lacrymæ!*) who by the way was then in England: and that the person to whom he communicates this, should read this letter to other persons; from whom I by chance heard it yesterday at third hand: and that the person who so makes public the fact should be my first under-secretary!* He has thought fit to propose to retire. And so he must.

Yours ever, C. Abbot.

P.S.—Your own personal knowledge of these characters, from the facts which you have formerly stated to me from your own knowledge, renders all commentary superfluous.

N.B.—This change of Sir James Duff's powers (as well as the famous Militia proposal) took place before Lord Pelham was in office; and whilst the Duke of Portland never would answer Lord Hardwicke's letters.

LETTER FROM LORD HARDWICKE TO MR. ADDINGTON.

[Private and Confidential.]

Dublin, Oct. 24th, 1801.

My dear Sir,— I take the opportunity of Colonel Littlehales's return to England, to thank you for your letter of the 14th inst., by the kindness of which I could not fail to be highly gratified and obliged. I had no doubt that Colonel Littlehales would conduct himself entirely to your satisfaction; and to that of the other members of the administration with whom he had occasion more particularly to communicate. And I still flatter myself, notwithstanding appearances of difficulty which are too prominent

* Mr. Cooke.

to be concealed, that the result of his mission will be finally advantageous.

The paper of considerations on the situation of the Lord-Lieutenant and his Secretary, which Colonel Littlehales was directed to deliver to me, has been considered with that attention and respect which is due to a paper, the delivery of which, at least, has been sanctioned by the Cabinet. And detailed observations upon the line professed to be laid down in that paper, have been drawn up with the greatest care and deliberation, and will be communicated to the Cabinet by Lord Pelham.

But I should not make a proper return to that confidence and good opinion of which you gave me the strongest proof, in proposing to me, at a very critical and difficult period, so honourable and distinguished a situation, if I did not state to you, with all that reserve of expression upon certain topics of influence and patronage which a paper to be submitted to the Cabinet necessarily requires, the real and undisguised sentiments of my mind upon a subject which is no further interesting to me personally, than it may be connected with character, public opinion, and the faculty of being useful; but which is of essential importance to the future good government of Ireland.

I take it for granted there is no difference of opinion in regard to the propriety of maintaining, at least for a considerable time, the form of Government which is now established. And it appears to me that the real question at issue is whether the whole or the greater part of the patronage of the Crown in this country shall be transferred from the Lord-Lieutenant to the Secretary of State. The great object to the King's Minister in the exercise of patronage, must be the management of the Parliament, and the quiet and orderly government of the country. And, in considering this question as far as it regards Ireland, it is right to observe that the Lord-Lieutenant is, and ought to be, as much the agent of the Prime Minister in the disposal of patronage, and the proper application of influence, as the Secretary of State for the Home Department. He cannot be supposed to have any distinct interest of his own, nor would he be permitted to retain his situation if he did not concur in the support of the Government of England.

I can by no means, therefore, consider it as a point undeniably proved that the removal of the Parliament necessarily implies, even with a view to Parliamentary influence, the removal to England of the whole of the patronage of the Crown in Ireland. The agency of the Lord-Lieutenant in the disposal of the patron-

age, and the intercourse which he maintains with the gentlemen of the country, are materially connected with the influence of the Government in Parliament, and must always tend to maintain it in a manner agreeable to their feelings and their habits. But this intercourse, which, independently of what is gained by it in a Parliamentary view, is of essential use to the Government in the scale of its general influence, would soon be entirely discontinued if the Lord-Lieutenant were to be deprived of the power to dispense the favours of the Crown, so far as respects the gentlemen of Ireland, who represent their country in the two Houses of Parliament.

If the Secretary of State is a Peer he is still further removed, even in England, from an intercourse with the people, and a knowledge of the great body of its representatives; and it does not appear that the patronage of Ireland would be administered with more economy of effect in his hands than in those of the Lord-Lieutenant, subject to the direction of the ministers in regard to all the principal offices, and in concurrence with his views of the general interests of Government in regard to the whole.

Much of the influence arising from patronage is merely nominal, and the office of Lord-Lieutenant would certainly lose more in real weight and dignity by the loss of the patronage than would be gained by the transfer of the same proportion of it to the disposal of the Secretary of State. The general effect of it which is at present widely diffused, would be entirely lost in regard to the Government of Ireland, and no more would be gained in England than the mere operation and effect of each particular object in detail. The transferring of the entire management of the Parliament to England by the avowed removal of the patronage, would soon oblige the minister to resort to the assistance of some of the Chiefs of the country, and revive a system which would again render Ireland the sport of party and cabal.

It cannot be denied that there are some men in this country, who, from having acted in the highest situations of political power, and having been engaged in its most impassioned and animated contests, have acquired a tone and activity which, it is to be feared, disdain subordination. If the minister contracts for the parliamentary business of the country it must be with these men; who, if the power of the Lord-Lieutenant is reduced but a very little below its previous level, will soon become his rivals, and if he is removed will become the tyrants of their countrymen.

I have little doubt that these consequences will inevitably, and at no great distance of time, follow so great an alteration in the system of Government, and that when the Lord-Lieutenant is reduced, as he will be, to the situation of a mere pageant, the office, which by the respectable part of the community is now considered as a shield against the passions and ambition of their countrymen, as well as some security for the impartial exercise of the powers of Government, will be found totally inefficient to every useful purpose, and must either be entirely abolished, or restored, if possible, to some degree of its former authority.

These opinions are, I assure you, not formed upon any sudden or partial view of the question, neither are they taken up without some knowledge of the sentiments of highly respectable individuals, who have as much experience of the feelings and temper of their countrymen and as just a sense of their true interests upon Union principles, as many who pretend to a monopoly of knowledge and experience upon those points, and as others have, who after having contributed to the success of the great measure of Union, are anxious to see it converted, by a radical change of Government, into an engine of power to themselves.

To those who are prepared to say that Ireland can now be governed in the same manner as Scotland, observations of this sort, of course, cannot apply. In my opinion, the proposition laid down in the paper of considerations, upon which a distinct and explicit decision is necessary, although any sudden determination is much to be deprecated, will tend to the direct establishment of that system much sooner than the country can bear it. For when the Lord-Lieutenant is reduced to a mere Superintendent of Police, and his powers of patronage limited to the recommendation of Assistant Barristers or Chairmen of the Quarter Sessions, he is in truth neither more nor less than the Irish Under Secretary of the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

In regard to the point of limiting the correspondence with the Secretary of State's office, there can be no difficulty in conceding it, if it is thought more proper and convenient. I must, nevertheless, remark, that it will introduce a degree of circuity and delay contrary to the tenor of the existing instructions, which direct in many instances an original communication with the Treasury, and may produce great occasional inconvenience in matters of revenue.

I am desirous of avoiding anything that may appear personal, or that applies to my own situation; but I cannot refrain from observing upon the hardship, or, if I may be permitted to say

so, the injustice, of what has been determined in regard to the situation of Private Secretary. From the heavy mortgage * upon the patronage of this country, I was aware of the difficulty or remote prospect of providing for a Private Secretary; and you may remember my troubling you on that subject; but without desiring any promise or definitive answer. But under this uncertainty I cannot help being hurt at the idea that the request I made last summer for a salary and provision for my private Secretary, for which there was a precedent in the case of my predecessor, and no precedent of any Lord-Lieutenant being so shackled in regard to engagements, should at the end of two months be negatived as inadmissible.

I cannot, however, even in so strong a case, be desirous of postponing a single engagement; and I think it but fair to Dr. Lindsay † to request that you will take the trouble of reading the enclosed letter, which he sent me immediately after I had communicated to him the answer brought by Colonel Littlehales. You will therefore see the sentiments he expresses on the subject; and I may safely leave the case in your hands.

The opinion I have formed upon the whole of this important question, is greatly confirmed and strengthened by what I understand to be the sentiments of impartial and enlightened men upon an apprehension that has been recently revived (from what quarter I know not), of an actual intention of governing by Lords Justices. This apprehension is not unworthy of notice, because it has produced discussions applicable to the general question which is now under your consideration, and it is in that view only that I have mentioned it, for I knew it to be entirely contrary to your declared opinions. I am further convinced that if the arrangement now under consideration should terminate in the degradation of the local Government of this country, those who may contribute to it will hereafter see occasion to regret their concurrence in the introduction of a system which, I am confident, will be found inconsistent with the tranquillity, good humour, and true interests of Ireland.

Of those who have been recently in this country, there is no one who is more capable of forming an impartial and a wise opinion in regard to the policy which may be required by the change of circumstances occasioned by the Union, than my immediate ‡ predecessor, who had an opportunity of seeing so

* Lord H. means the great number of promises given by Lord Cornwallis at the time of the Union, which were not yet all fulfilled.

† His private Secretary, afterwards Bishop of Kildare.

‡ Lord Cornwallis.

much of the interior, and of judging of the secret springs and motives of political men. Upon the actual point now in agitation there is no direct opportunity of knowing the sentiments of Lord Cornwallis; but if there should be an opportunity, and you see no objection to Colonel Littlehales communicating to him the papers with which he has been charged, his opinion may not be altogether without its use; and, you may be very sure, will be impartial and disinterested.

I am sincerely impressed with the value of your friendship and good opinion; and whether I continue in a situation in which I may be likely to be useful in this country, or return to a private situation at home, I shall feel no change in those sentiments.

Being always with the truest esteem, my dear Sir,

Your very faithful servant, HARDWICKE.

LETTER FROM MR. ABBOT TO MR. ADDINGTON.

[Private and Confidential.]

Dublin Castle, Oct. 27th, 1801.

My dear Sir,—In my last letter I mentioned that I should take a separate occasion for transmitting to your consideration one important point, which Lord Hardwicke concurred with me in thinking was fitter for your separate judgment than to be inserted in the general paper for the Cabinet respecting the true principles and policy to be observed in settling the Executive Government in Ireland.

This point, which is more for your separate and personal consideration, is the management of the legislative business of Ireland in the House of Commons.

In discussing it let us consider, 1st, Does it require any special superintendence? 2ndly, Who is to take charge of it? 3rdly, How is it to be executed; namely, by the Secretary of State for the Home Department and his immediate Under-Secretaries, or by the Lord-Lieutenant's Secretary as a peculiar servant of Government? and this upon constitutional grounds, as well as those of public economy and efficacy for the King's service.

1st. That it must be undertaken by the Administration, or it will fall into the hands of Opposition, seems to be very clear, for it never can remain neutral and unclaimed ground; and surely it cannot be prudent or just to leave it to the random and unguided movement of their personal or local interests, whether mercantile or agricultural; nor can it be wise to abandon it as a

prey to the active and designing leaders of a minority who will be always on the watch for an accession of strength to their numbers, by showing marked attentions, and tendering their services upon Bills or Committees to those who seem to have no rallying point held out them.

2ndly. Who then is to undertake the care of this branch of parliamentary business? The Minister who takes upon himself the general conduct of public affairs in the House of Commons cannot have the inclination or time; nor it is any part of his duty to descend into details of this description. Some Member of Administration subordinate to him must be entrusted with this province; and if he has the trust he must also have the power and the means of discharging it. He should maintain a constant personal intercourse with the Members for Ireland, entering into their local concerns and interests, and canvassing with them the more public objects which the friends or adversaries of Administration may have in view for parliamentary discussion; maturing the projects which may be useful, repressing those which may be injurious, and each in their earliest stages; satisfying them that there is an authorised person in office, with whom they may have an intercourse of society, and to whom they may at all times have ready access. With such assistance it may reasonably be supposed that the Minister will find his parliamentary labours in this part alleviated, his time spared for higher and more general concerns, and the personal goodwill of individuals as well as the public interests secured.

3rdly. By whom is this to be executed, if it be fit that it should be so given in charge to any one?

There are but two departments from which the Minister can derive this assistance, namely, the Secretary of State for the Home Department and his under secretaries, or the Lord-Lieutenant's secretary. For amongst these all the details of Irish business are deposited.

Can the Secretary of State for the Home Department give the assistance? Most certainly he may, if in the House of Commons; and if he be there, and make himself master of all the local details of Ireland as of Great Britain, nothing more is wanting. But if he be a Peer it is equally clear he cannot be the auxiliary to his Minister in this business. If he cannot, can his Under-Secretaries fill his place in this respect? Can they be spared from their official duties not merely to attend, but to take this sort of lead in the House of Commons? Have they ever been of that description? Is their rank and weight such as would induce the great country gentlemen of Ireland to act with

or under them? Will the gentlemen of Ireland attend in the ante-chamber of a Peer to transact their House of Commons concerns with his under-secretary? Is it to be expected or desired that they should feel this to be their situation as a consequence of the Union?

If this cannot be, see then what other officer of Government can be made most useful. Probably the person who holds nominally the same office, though less in weight, with whom they were accustomed to transact their business before the Union; the officer who comes with them to Parliament, who goes back with them to their own country, who sees and intermixes with them there in society, hears their histories, sees their local projects, knows their biases, and is, as it were, naturalised amongst them, at the same time that the tenure of his office obliges him always to feel that his primary and paramount duty is that of fulfilling the views and executing the measures of His Majesty's Ministers in England, to whom he is subservient and responsible.

If this be his trust, let it next be considered what are to be his means of executing it. He must have the ordinary assistance of clerks to carry on his correspondence with Ireland, for directing his own department during his absence, and also for maturing the details of business which he is expected to furnish daily to the Minister who has the chief management of the House of Commons. For this end, what so natural or proper as that he should bring with him some of his own subordinate clerks from Ireland, and establish them in London as a detachment from Dublin Castle? This is a strict and legitimate consequence of his following the Parliament which has been transferred from Dublin to London. And the expense is no new expense whatever to Great Britain; it is a part of the expense of the Irish Government, and may not add at all even to the expense of the Irish Government, if the Lord-Lieutenant's secretary is required to defray that expense in the whole, or in part, out of the surplus emoluments of his own office (after its intended reduction), which, if he has any zeal for His Majesty's service, he cannot hesitate to do, and which at all events he should be required to do.

Jealousies of such an office, so employed for the immediate ease and assistance of the Minister in the House of Commons, and constantly subject to his orders and those of the Secretary of State, can never be entertained on any just grounds. It may not be a very pleasant office to fill, but it surely is no very great object of distrust. In the novelty of an establishment not

planned by me, nor finally settled even by those who established it, it is very possible that some irregularities of correspondence may have taken place. Whenever any such have been noticed they have been immediately corrected. No interruption or delay of the direct correspondence between the Lord-Lieutenant and the Secretary of State is proposed. All that has been suggested is the necessity of giving the means of knowing the current business of Ireland to those persons who were required to attend to it.

Look to the Bills of the last session, and those which may come on in a future session, and let it be considered who will take charge of them without the power and the means of carrying them forward with effect; for the person who may be qualified for such business in the House of Commons is not likely to put himself very forward, or make himself responsible for that which he has no means of performing. The Election Bill, Place Bill, Copyright Bill, Tax Exemption Bill, &c., of last year, could not have been carried on without clerks, counsel, and a house in which to meet them and the members of parties interested from day to day. Is this sort of establishment likely to be less necessary when the commercial regulations, distilleries, corn laws, navigation laws, &c., come under discussion hereafter?

In the view of Mr. Pitt, Lord Cornwallis, Lord Castlereagh, and (at that time) of the Duke of Portland, the Irish Office in London was established for this very purpose. (See despatch of Lord Cornwallis to the Duke of Portland, November, 1800.) It has now been fitted up at a considerable expense, which is passed and paid. The under-secretaries and clerks may be more or less in number, but they are now established, and the means of payment may be proved economically for the public. May not great utility be derived from the continuance, and may not great and irretrievable mischiefs arise from its suppression?

4thly. I have the less difficulty in stating this question explicitly, because, as I have always said, and most conscientiously, I look upon my own personal concern in the business as nothing. If I did suffer it to weigh with me, I should be very unfit indeed for my present situation; but to those who think otherwise of me (only, as I hope, because they know less of me) surely it is very obvious that my personal and private motions must be all contrary to the policy which I am urging. To fill a considerable office, without parliamentary trouble or responsibility, cannot in itself be undesirable. To be less diligent in attending Parliament, and to look on during a debate, is always more pleasant to the individual than to feel the weight and anxiety

which belong to the discharge of a public duty; for it must be quite manifest that active assistance and labour cannot be required or had from any parliamentary friend to whom the means are denied of making his own assistance and labour profitable to the ministers under whom he is serving.

In settling the whole of this system for managing Irish affairs, both in the executive Government and in the conduct of the Parliamentary business, we should look to the establishment of such a system as may be practically efficient for its own ends, and coincide in form with existing constitutional arrangements. To deprive the system of its efficacy, is destructive of the true ends of Government, slackens its ties with the people, and sows the seeds of lasting dissatisfaction.

I am sorry to find my letter so long; but I thought it a debt of justice and friendship to open the whole of my mind to you upon this subject, at a time when I know you are pressed to come to a speedy and final determination upon it.

Believe me, ever yours most faithfully, C. Abbot.

MINUTES OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN MR. ABBOT AND MR. KNOX (THE AGENT TO MAYNOOTH COLLEGE).

Dec. 24th.

I [Mr. Abbot] sent for Knox as agent to the Colleges, and told him that Lord Kilwarden had reported his visitation to his Excellency, and had noticed the lay school as a change from the original institution.

That his Excellency thought it better to avoid having any question raised unnecessarily upon it, and authorised me to say that in order to prevent any formal proposition to Government on the part of the College in favour of a lay school, to which proposition Government might be under the necessity of giving a formal negative, it was his Excellency's wish that the school should subside gradually, and the matter end *sub silentio*.

Mr. Knox thanked Government for the kind manner of giving the intimation; said he saw exactly how the thing was. His friend the secretary of the College was a discreet man, and through him he could easily settle the matter.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM LORD HARDWICKE TO MR. MARSDEN.

Dec. 24th.

As some misapprehension appears to have arisen respecting the intimation given to Mr. Knox, I shall be obliged to you if

you will take an early opportunity of explaining to Dr. Troy what was the precise object and extent of it.

The idea of a lay boarding school being annexed to Maynooth College, the intention of which was understood to be the education at home of a sufficient number of persons for the priesthood, appeared to present itself as a new proposition, the discussion of which I certainly thought it desirable to avoid. Upon this ground an intimation was given to Mr. Knox, in the most friendly manner, that it was the wish of Government that no further expense should be incurred or measures taken with a view to such an establishment.

It never was my wish or intention that the lay pupils now in the College should be at once withdrawn from it, but that the establishment should not be fixed as a part of the College.

When you see Dr. Troy, have the goodness to say further that it will tend greatly to prevent misapprehension on such points, if, when any doubt arises, he will address himself directly to the Government, as he may be assured that he will at all times be received with attention, and listened to with fairness and candour.

MINUTE OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN DR. TROY AND MR. MARSDEN.

Dec. 24th.

Dr. Troy said the School was distinct from the College, and in that respect like any other school.

Though it was built upon the Government ground, it was not built out of the public money, but out of the entrance money paid by the priests.

He insisted upon this vindication, and did not insist upon it as part of the original plan.

MINUTE OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN MR. MARSDEN AND DR. TROY, AT DUBLIN CASTLE.

Friday, Dec. 18th, 1801.

Dr. Troy said, "The Chancellor sent for me and asked me how things were going on at Maynooth." I told him that no alteration had taken place. He said, it was the most absurd and extravagant thing that ever entered into the mind of man, to prevent laymen being educated at the College. That every country schoolmaster might teach, and why not those who were better qualified, and who were under the control of Government?

Dr. Troy said; My Lord, I understand that it was Lord Kilwarden who made the representation to Government against the establishment of the school. No such thing, said the Chancellor. I have asked Lord Kilwarden about it, and he told me, that in conversation with Lord Hardwicke he had mentioned his visitation to the College, and how much to his satisfaction he found everything there; and that he noticed the school merely as matter of conversation, without in any degree complaining of it.

Mr. Marsden. Did you understand from the Chancellor that Lord Kilwarden now approved of it? *Dr. T.* I did distinctly. — *Mr. M.* Did he say so? *Dr. T.* I do not know that he said so exactly; but what he said implied it.

The Chancellor desired me to write down to Maynooth to go on just as usual, and to take no notice. I accordingly wrote to Dr. Dunn, and I thought the matter was over, and we should have no more of it.

MEMORANDUM OF THE SAME CONVERSATION DRAWN UP BY DR. TROY.

Dublin, Dec. 21st, 1801.

In consequence of a note from Mr. Marsden, Dr. Troy waited on him, at the Castle on Friday last.

Mr. Marsden began the conversation by asking what, if anything, had been done concerning Maynooth College. Dr. Troy, not conceiving what was precisely meant by the question, replied, "In what respect?"

"In regard," said Mr. Marsden, "to the education of lay scholars there, on which the Lord-Lieutenant is teased by Lord Kilwarden and others." Dr. Troy answered, "Nothing had been done; and that in consequence of a conversation he had with the Lord Chancellor, he had notified to Dr. Flood, that no change was to take place, and recommended silence on what was said of it, in order to prevent further uneasiness on that head. Dr. Troy then repeated his conversation with the Lord Chancellor as follows: — That his Lordship had sent for him on Friday the 4th, on other business, but took an occasion to mention that of Maynooth College: and observed, there was no law prohibiting the education of lay Catholic scholars there; that it appeared absurd to permit it everywhere else, and to prohibit it where only the Government had an inspection and control. That on Dr. Troy's mentioning a report that Lord Kilwarden had suggested the prohibition to the Lord-Lieutenant, the

Lord Chancellor said, "No such thing. I spoke to Lord Kilwarden on the subject; he assured me he had only related the fact of lay education at Maynooth to His Excellency, without expressing any disapproval of it."

Mr. Marsden asked. "Did the Lord Chancellor really tell you so?" Dr. Troy answered, he really did, and added that His Lordship concluded the conversation by saying; "Let things go on as they are at Maynooth. It is better not to speak of any intended change."

These are the particulars in substance, as far as Dr. Troy can recollect of what he mentioned to Mr. Marsden concerning the Lord Chancellor's conversation with him on the subject of Maynooth College. Dr. Troy not having charged his memory with it or with his late interview with Mr. Marsden, is not, probably, as accurate in stating either as he wishes, or as the Lord Chancellor may expect. J. S. Troy.

MINUTE OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN HIS EXCELLENCY AND LORD CLARE, AT THE CASTLE.

Dec. 20th, 1801.

I. His Excellency having put into Lord Clare's hand the paper written by Mr. Marsden, as containing Dr. Troy's narrative of his interview with Lord Clare on the 4th inst., respecting Maynooth, Lord Clare said,

1. That the old gentleman (Dr. Troy) had greatly misrepresented what had passed.

He had sent for Troy on the business of Lord Dunboyne's will; that Troy was not with him three minutes. (Or "that his conversation about Maynooth College did not last three minutes." Lord H.)

2. That Lord Kilwarden had mentioned to him (Lord Clare) his having repeated his visitation to Maynooth, and his observations there, as matter of fact; without any sentiment of approbation or disapprobation.

3. When His Excellency said that it would have an awkward appearance if the intimation of the Government to the College through Mr. Knox (their agent), which was in its nature tantamount to an order, was to be superseded by another order from His Lordship to Dr. Troy, which must have appeared most extraordinary in the eyes of the public,

Lord Clare said, — It had never entered into his thought so to do.

4. All he had done was to give Dr. Troy the explanation of what he had understood to be His Excellency's meaning when he had conversed with him at the Castle, after the intimation had been given.

(Query.—If there was a doubt, why did he not send Dr. Troy to His Excellency, or to his Secretary who had given the intimation, for an explanation?)

That he had told Dr. Troy the boys were not to be taken away, and that they were to go on as they were; but that no public money was to be laid out till the question was determined.

(N.B.—In Lord Clare's former conversation with His Excellency he had expressly declared his opinion that all Catholic questions during the King's life had better be kept out of sight.)

5. He asked who had taken down the conversation between himself and Dr. Troy; and His Excellency told him it was Mr. Marsden, who, upon Lord Fingall's representations had sent for Troy, that there might be no misunderstanding.

6. Lord Clare desired to have the paper (which he would return), and said he would send for Troy and speak to him.

II. Lord Clare then entered into the history and policy of the original measure.

1. He complained that Lord Pelham and Dr. Troy had contrived the college between them (without his participation) to be a Catholic College for educating priests only, and had got a grant of 8000*l.*, as a sole grant for establishing it.

2. That, when the subsequent grant came before Parliament he had thrown out the Bill.

(N.B.—Lord Clare threw out the Bill without any previous notice or consultation with Lord Cornwallis or Lord Castlereagh.)

And upon communication with Lord Cornwallis it had been thoroughly understood it should be a place for the joint education of priests and lay children.

(N.B.—But in the course of this conversation Lord Clare stated that the rules of the Catholic priests prohibited them expressly from educating their priests promiscuously with laymen.)

III.—1. His Excellency having then proposed that during the holidays he should state in writing his observations upon this measure, as it might become necessary to have it considered by the King's ministers;

Lord Clare said he would do so, and transmit them to His Excellency.

2. His Excellency suggested to him that the three points for consideration were: (1.) The leaving the question *sub silentio.*

(N.B.—Here Lord Clare said, I am afraid the Government will take the first course, and like that best.)

(2.) The establishing the lay school.

(3.) The negativing it; and also suggested the propriety of considering the situations of unlicensed Catholic schoolmasters, which he had much dwelt upon in former conversations.

3. Lord Clare said he would also consider their case, and he proceeded to remark upon the inconvenience of the control now exercised by the priests over the people, without any check on the part of Government; and that they, in fact, exercised a more effectual government over the people than the lawful Governors of the country.

This check he considered as easily attained by holding out the probability of re-establishing some of the penal laws against their clergy, and keeping them in order by that sort of terror.

4. He afterwards talked of Bishop Caulfield's reply to Sir Richard Musgrave; the letter of Littlehales in the Appendix addressed to "The *Most Reverend* Dr. Troy," &c.; and the disturbed state of the country, and the murders still going on, as proved on the trials at Kildare before Judge Chamberlain.

(N.B.—All these trials were (under the special commission) of men sent down from the Provost in Dublin, for offences during the rebellion.)

Mem.—1. His Excellency proposes to send for Dr. Troy, and explain to him his own meaning in the intimation which he ordered to be given.

2. To send a statement of the whole transaction by *private* letter to Mr. Addington.

3. If Lord Clare's observations, when communicated to His Excellency, should render it expedient to have a Cabinet decision from England, in that case also to obtain the Primate's written sentiments on the same subject.

LETTER FROM LORD CLARE TO LORD HARDWICKE.

Mount Shannon, Dec. 28th, 1801.

My Lord,—In consequence of what your Excellency mentioned to me in the last interview which I had the honour to have with you, I desired Dr. Troy to call upon me on the following day, when he informed me that the message communicated to the Master of the College of Maynooth through Mr. Knox was understood by him distinctly to convey an order from your Excellency for the immediate dismissal of the lay pupils who are now educated in that seminary, and Lord Fingall, from whom

I, as the first visitor of it, had the first intimation that such an order had been given, seemed to me very distinctly to understand that his son was immediately to be dismissed from the College of Maynooth in consequence of the order. This, however, I have since explained to Dr. Troy, and, to avoid all misconception on the subject I beg to repeat here what I stated to him:

"That, if the message delivered in your Excellency's name to the Master of Maynooth College was considered by him to convey an order for the immediate dismissal of the pupils now educated there, it was misconceived. That your Excellency only desired that this part of the institution should not be extended, nor any additional expense incurred for the purpose, until the propriety of such a measure could be fully considered; but that the pupils who had already been received there were not to be disturbed."

From the written report made to your Excellency by Mr. Marsden of the answers made by Dr. Troy to him, when he interrogated the Doctor as to a private conversation which passed in my chamber (which report I have the honour to return to your Excellency), I thought it right to desire of the Doctor to bring to me a written memorandum of what had passed between Dr. Marsden there on that subject, a copy of which I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency, and shall only observe upon the whole transaction that, if your Excellency had at once intimated your desire to know what had passed between Dr. Troy and me in my chamber upon that or any other subject, you should have had from me a frank and full explanation of it.

In compliance with your Excellency's desire I have the honour to send you a statement, as correct as my memory enables me to make it, of the Institution at Maynooth; and I am confident that of the many serious and important topics which remain to be fully considered and finally arranged for the settlement of this country, this institution will be found to be one of the most prominent. I have the honour to be, &c. &c. CLARE.

MINUTE OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN MR. ABBOT AND LORD KILWARDEN, AT CORK ABBEY.

Dec. 25th, 1801.*

In the course of this conversation, which lasted above an hour, the following points were distinctly stated and restated by Lord Kilwarden.

* This Minute is given also in the Cornwallis Correspondence, III.

I. The original purpose of the College of Maynooth was to educate only priests. The proofs of it are:—

1. That it originated in the circumstances of the times which had revolutionised the Continent, and rendered the former places of education for the Irish priests (viz. St. Omer, Paris, &c.) unfit and unsafe; and rendered it desirable to educate them at home.

2. The speech of the Minister (Mr. Pelham) in opening the measure to Parliament, pointed only to that object.

3. Lord Kilwarden, who was then Attorney-General, and was commissioned by Lord Pelham to confer with the Catholics, had no conference but with Dr. Troy (titular Archbishop of Dublin) and another priest; and when, under his general instructions to talk with them, he wished them to make the College a joint school for laity and clergy, they would not hear of it, and stated it to be prohibited by their own rules.

Lord Kilwarden, in illustration of this, incidentally stated the case of the present Bishop of Meath, who was educated for the priesthood at the Sorbonne; and, having come over for his health to Ireland, was refused to be readmitted at the Sorbonne, on account of his having proceeded with his education here (N.B.—I believe in Trin. College, Dublin, C.A.) promiscuously with the laity.

4. A further proof that such was the original plan was this, that the College had not from its foundation ever taken any other shape than for priests, though certainly the Act was expressed in general terms.

II. As to any subsequent compact, such as I told him Lord Clare says was made after he threw out the Bill in 1798;

Lord Kilwarden said he knew of none; it might have been some expectation held out to Lord Fingall; he did not believe any passed with Lord Cornwallis; but, if it did, Colonel Littlehales would know it most probably.

III. As to his report of his visitation at Maynooth to Lord Hardwicke, Lord Avonmore had authorised him to report to Government the appearance of this lay school, the novelty of which had surprised them both.

The building for the lay boys is a dormitory, at the distance of a field or two, but upon the College ground, and within the same fence; it contained no school room, and therefore he supposed the boys must go to the Priests' College for their lessons.

That as visitor he had only to report the fact; but personally he had also expressed his individual opinions upon the novelty and impolicy of the measure.

IV. I then related to Lord Kilwarden what had passed subsequently to the report.

Upon stating the intimation which I had given to Mr. Knox by his Excellency's direction, he desired (with excuses) to know whether I was sure of my recollection as to the substance and mode of the intimation.

I repeated to him the whole, as nearly as possible, in the manner which I noted for Lord Hardwicke, and which he sent to England to Mr. Addington; and I added that I believed it was so communicated *in ipsissimis verbis*.

He said he wished to be accurately possessed of it, because it had been quite otherwise represented, though he was not at liberty to say how, or by whom.

I told him I knew Lord Clare had otherwise represented it; but I wished to know if he had it from Mr. Knox himself, or whether Mr. Knox did represent it differently; that I was in some degree anxious about that, although I was very sure of my own precise recollection of a matter which naturally appeared to me of moment, both before and since it had occurred.

Lord Kilwarden said he did not hear it from Mr. Knox; nor had he indeed seen him. He seemed much surprised that Knox had not been to me, and that I had not received any communication from him upon the subject.

I said whatever difference of opinion might fairly be entertained by the most honourable men upon the general question of policy; and although no man was from high official character, learning, and knowledge of the country more entitled to be heard respectfully, and with the greatest deference than Lord Clare; yet it was quite impossible that any orders given by the Lord-Lieutenant should be superseded by any other person however high. And, when his Excellency had given an intimation that the *lay school was not to go on*, it could not be permitted that any other persons should direct it to proceed.

That this had been explained to Lord Clare, who disclaimed the intention, though he certainly had done the thing, as appeared by Dr. Troy's narrative (taken down by Marsden and admitted by Dr. Troy to be true). I then told him that Lord Hardwicke had thought it necessary to send a written direction to Mr. Marsden to assure Dr. Troy of the kind disposition of Government to all descriptions of the King's subjects, but that they must come to the Lord-Lieutenant for explanations of the Lord-Lieutenant's orders, and not go elsewhere, or to that effect.

Lord Kilwarden said, certainly there could be no Lord-Lieutenant, if any other man was to do away his orders. He

lamented that this led to such a dispute, because the intimation could only point at Lord Clare; but that it was certainly necessary to preserve the Lord-Lieutenant's authority, &c. &c.

V. Upon the policy of such a mixed school:

1. To my question whether he had told Lord Clare that he was of opinion for going on with this school, and for educating such boys, with such priests, in such an institution, he said, Most decidedly *not*.

I said Dr. Troy represented the Chancellor to have said so of Lord Kilwarden.

Lord Kilwarden said, on the contrary, he had told the Chancellor there could not be a worse education.

And when he told the Chancellor of the nature of their examination of an hour at the visitation, about St. Augustin and Origen, and their coarse vulgar jokes and manner at the dinner, Lord Clare seemed much surprised at it; and seemed not to know they were of such a description.

2. As to the abstract policy, Lord Kilwarden would advise the Crown and Parliament, with a view only to the present race, to govern by a strong military force, and keep down the Catholics by the bayonet: but, with a view to posterity, he should wish to educate the Protestants and Catholics together.

And such was the object of opening Trinity College Dublin to the Catholics.

I told him that now, at Trinity College, the Provost acquainted me there were many sons of opulent Catholics, and that their numbers of this class increased. Lord Kilwarden said he knew it to be so. But the Chancellor did not admit it, and ought to be put in full and unquestionable possession of the fact.

MINUTE OF A CONVERSATION BETWEEN MR. ABBOT AND MR. KNOX.

Dec. 28th.

[I said] I wished to see you upon the subject of a communication which I made to you some time ago, respecting the School for lay boarders at Maynooth College.

I understand from His Excellency that, since that time, other conversations have been had upon the subject; and subsequent orders have been sent down by Dr. Troy.

My object at present in desiring to see you, is to acquaint you by Lord Hardwicke's direction (to the same effect as he has desired Mr. Marsden to speak to Dr. Troy), thatthe Lord-Lieu-

tenant desires that, if at any future time any explanation is wished for respecting any communication made by him or by his orders, that you would have the goodness to apply for it to him, or to those by whom his orders have been given.

You will always be received with the utmost candour and good will; but he desires that his own orders may be explained by himself, and through the same channel by which they were given.

Knox said, that he had officially communicated to the College the message which I had delivered to him.

He then went on to relate Lord Fingall's visit to Lord Hardwicke, and Lord Clare; and his now being sent for to Lord Clare to relate what had passed between him and me; and Lord Clare's repetition of it in the street in a way that pained him extremely.

In the course of his conversation, Knox said, that the great men of the country had been used to manage everything, and to meddle with everything. They were *enfans gâtés;* and forgot their correct line of duty upon these matters.

After much mixed and private conversation, in which I only mentioned Lord Clare once, saying that I had always maintained a due respect towards him, notwithstanding what I might know to be his language personally of me, we parted; with my distinctly repeating that I was now authorised and ordered to make this second communication to him as agent to the College:

Namely — That His Excellency desired whenever any orders or communications were made by his authority to the College, they, the College, would, for the very purpose of cultivating a good understanding with them, and a good will towards them, if they had any wish for explanation of such orders, apply directly to His Excellency, that His Excellency might give his own explanation of his orders, and thereby prevent all misapprehension whatever.

Knox said in reply, that he would not fail to communicate this exactly as it was meant. He saw the perfect propriety of it; and thought he could enforce it with full effect by many arguments of his own.

LETTER FROM LORD KILWARDEN TO LORD HARDWICKE.

New Lands, Jan. 8th, 1802.

My Lord, — I had yesterday evening the honour of your Excellency's letter of the first inst., in which you are pleased to desire me to furnish your Excellency with a statement

of what I recollect of the original intentions and objects of Government in the institution of the College of Maynooth, as well as of any changes that have been made at any subsequent times, either tacitly or otherwise, in the system which it was understood the Government intended should be followed; more particularly with reference to an exclusive education for the priesthood, or a mixed education to which lay scholars might be admitted.

I lament that I have it not in my power to give your Excellency all that information on the subject which you wish to obtain; that, I believe you can receive from those only who, when the College was founded, had the honour of being placed in the highest department of the Government of Ireland. I was then in the office of Attorney-General, and was not always informed of every resolution of Government, even on subjects on which I had the honour of being consulted. I have endeavoured to bring to my recollection whatever I knew respecting the subject of your Excellency's inquiry, and all that I can recall I beg leave to state.

I am certain that I had several conversations with the present Lord Pelham, then secretary to Lord Camden *, on the establishing a college for educating young men for the priesthood in the Romish Church. What passed in such conversations I cannot, at this distance of time, particularly recollect, but the impression on my mind most strongly is, that the object of Government was stated to me to be to provide a seminary for the education of persons designed for orders in the Irish Romish Church, in order to remove the difficulty arising from the destruction of the colleges on the Continent, in which the clergy had been educated previous to the French Revolution; and I have not the least recollection that in any of these conversations the education of the laity was ever under consideration.

I have perfect recollection that, in the conferences which I had the honour to have with Lord Pelham, I suggested that, for attaining the object of Government, it might be proper to found and erect a college contiguous to Trinity College, to be a member of the University of Dublin, of which college the head, fellows, professors, and tutors, should be of the Popish religion, and in which students for orders should be educated, and that the University should be enabled to confer degrees on such students, and that the new college should be part of the University, and subject to visitation in like manner as Trinity

* Lord Camden was Lord-Lieutenant from 1789 to 1792.

College is; and I also perfectly recollect that, among other reasons in support of this suggestion, I urged that placing the new Popish Seminary contiguous to Trinity College, would tend gradually to remove prejudices, and to heal animosities; and, above all, by the unavoidable intercourse that would arise between the members and students of both societies, to open and enlarge the minds of the students, and perhaps others of the Popish Seminary.

Lord Pelham, some days after I offered this suggestion for his consideration, desired, on the part of Government, that I should confer with Dr. Troy on the subject at large, and particularly should ascertain what the nature of the institution would be, and what was desired for persons designed for orders in the Romish Church. And, accordingly, Dr. Troy, accompanied by a gentleman who appeared to be a Popish priest, came to my house in Leicester Street, where the subject was considered at large. I proposed the scheme of a college, as I had suggested to Lord Pelham. Dr. Troy at once decidedly said it could not on any account be adopted, for it was *a rule and principle* for their church *never* to permit students intended for holy orders to mix with those intended for *worldly pursuits*. And this objection of Dr. Troy was strongly, and with a degree of peremptoriness, enforced by his companion. I then told Dr. Troy that I conceived the Government could not with justice or propriety authorise the conferring of degrees, but through the University of Dublin; and I desired to know whether he and his brethren had considered in what manner degrees were to be conferred, if what I proposed were inadmissible.

His answer was, that degrees were not necessary to the admission into holy orders; that a power to confer degrees was not desired; that what they desired was a distinct seminary, under their own distinct Government.

The substance of this conversation I reported to Lord Pelham; and in the course of it I do not recollect or believe that a word passed respecting the subject of lay education.

Thus I have stated to your Excellency all I recollect to have fallen within my knowledge previous to passing the Act by which the College of Maynooth was founded. It cannot, however, escape your Excellency's observation that much may have passed respecting the subject, of which I was uninformed.

I continued to entertain my original impression of the objects of Government in this institution, until the visitation, held last summer at the College, when the President of the College

cursorily—as the visitors amused themselves in a walk through the grounds, previous to their entering on business—showed them a small neat building at some distance from the College, but within the enclosure of its grounds, which the President said was intended for the education of *lay students*. Recollecting instantly the conversation I formerly had with Dr. Troy, I felt surprised at this lay institution within the precincts of an ecclesiastical seminary; but, not knowing whether Government had approved or permitted it, I forbore at that time to make any inquiry into the matter.

With respect to the other object of your Excellency's inquiry, "whether any changes have been made at any time, subsequent to the original institution, either tacitly or otherwise, with respect to the system which it was understood Government intended should be followed with respect to education for the priesthood, or to a mixed education, to which lay scholars might be admitted," I am altogether uninformed; certainly, I have not heard of any; nor indeed do I recollect that I have had any intercourse with Government on the subject, until after the visitation of last summer.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, with the greatest respect,
Your Excellency's most obliged and obedient, humble servt.,
KILWARDEN.

LETTER FROM THE BISHOP OF MEATH * TO MR. ABBOT.

[Private and Confidential.]

Ardbraccan House, Jan. 11th, 1802.

Dear Sir,—I have still to complain of that state of health which I assigned to you before Christmas as my apology for not submitting to you the statements I promised relative to the College at Maynooth. I could wish to make them as full and satisfactory as everything that proposes to occupy your time and attention ought to be; but, as the time of your going to England is probably approaching, I must content myself with doing the best I can.

In a paper which I put into your hands in London, I considered this subject pretty much at large; but, as I think you said that Mr. Addington had that paper, I request you to read the *two extracts* which I enclose, from letters which I wrote to Lord Castlereagh. The first was in consequence of the vote of the House of Lords against allowing the sum proposed by

* Dr. O'Beirne. See page 337.

Government for that establishment; and the second in answer to some papers which Lord Castlereagh showed me for my opinion, and to the intimation he gave me of the Chancellor's intention to bring in a new Bill on this subject.

An account which I received in the course of the last month, that the Irish Seminary and College at Paris had, on the intervention of Dr. Hussey, been restored to their original purposes, made me first wish to call your attention at this time to this business, which I conceive to be of the greatest moment to the peace of this country. The first object of the institution is to educate the Roman Catholic clergy at home, and to prevent them from being tied up under the system that was originally framed in the foreign seminaries, for the purpose of having so powerful a body of men in the very heart of the country, prejudiced against its constitution, and leagued against its Government. We know that this was the object which Philip the Second avowed, when he encouraged the establishment of those seminaries in his dominions; and how well they answered his expectations many a bloody and gloomy page in the histories of both kingdoms can testify. It is therefore evident that the most decisive measures should be taken to prevent the Romish clergy from resorting to these foreign seminaries for education, and to preclude persons educated there from exercising any clerical functions whatever in this country.

When it was in contemplation to give the Roman Catholic bishops and priests an establishment, for the wise purpose of bringing them under the influence of Government, and making them independent of their own people, the mode of doing this appeared to be easy. It was only to make a condition that no person so educated should enjoy the allowance from Government, and that a certificate of having studied at Maynooth alone should be a necessary title to it. If that measure should be given up, the object can only be answered by Parliamentary regulations, and an absolute prohibitory law to this effect, supported by penalties. I need not observe to you, for example, what hopeful missionaries we are to expect from Paris, or what dangerous auxiliaries some future revolutionists might have ready fashioned to their hands in the pupils of such schools as are likely to be formed there. But in order to be able to meet this danger effectually, and to take grounds on which the Legislature might have a right to insist on the Catholic body's entering into its own views on this important point, it is obvious that it will be necessary to make provision for educating at Maynooth what they shall prove to be the number necessary for the dis-

charge of the parochial duties through the kingdom. The expense can be of no consideration, as, without precluding this foreign education, and interdicting the priests who shall have received it, the expense you are now at for that establishment can never answer its purpose, and is absolutely thrown away.

It occurred to me, and I mentioned the idea to Lord Castlereagh, that when peace should be established, and if ever a good understanding should subsist between our Court and France, and the other countries in which such foundations have been provided, it might not be difficult to obtain consent to have the funds by which the establishments are supported, transferred to our Government for the benefit of the College at Maynooth, and so for the purposes for which their founders designed them. I mean such part of those funds as were the gift of British subjects, for I understand that many Frenchmen and other foreigners bestowed part of their property *on these pious institutions.*

On consulting with the Romish Bishop of this diocese, who is one of their great leaders, on this idea, and asking his opinion, I found that I was not the only person to whom it had occurred, but that he and many of his brethren thought that it might be accomplished — the funds of the Seminary and College in Paris alone, I mean the funds settled by British subjects, are very considerable indeed; and if transferred, would greatly lessen the expenses of the Maynooth establishment. How far the First Consul would be disposed to listen to such a proposal from Lord Cornwallis, at Amiens, you probably will, with me, be disposed to doubt; but I do not think the thing impracticable at some future day, provided the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland would become the suitors, through the Pope, or in any other way that the Government would allow them.

But all this, by the way: the danger to be apprehended from tolerating that mode of education, for the Roman Catholic priests, which has been one of the most powerful instruments in producing all the distractions of this country since the days of Queen Elizabeth, cannot escape the penetration of the dullest observer; and there is an absolute necessity of meeting it in the most effectual way that the wisdom of the Government can devise.

There are some other points on which I find myself encouraged by your anxiety to gain information on every subject that is connected with the welfare of this country, to offer you my opinion. But I suffer so much from a complaint in my head that I must defer them to some more favourable opportunity. I cannot, however, but beg to call your attention to the

shameful abuses that have long prevailed in our public schools, whether of Royal or private foundations. During Lord Camden's administration much attention was paid to this subject. There was not one of the schools founded by James the First that he did not find in the possession of persons who held them as absolute sinecures, or merely kept up a show of a school. On the death of Mr. Noble, who held the great school of Enniskillen, he appointed a person who certainly was in every respect qualified to be at the head of so fine an establishment, and who took it on the express condition of relinquishing every other pursuit, and confining himself altogether to the forming and conducting such a school as the funds and conveniences gave Government reason to expect to see there. Some little difficulties came in the way of this gentleman (Dr. Burrowes) at first; but at present, I am told, the school is flourishing. Another of these schools, that at Raphoe, with very ample endowment, was in the hands of Mr. Alley, who had not a single pupil, and was in every way unqualified for it. Lord Camden removed him, and in his place nominated a Mr. Irwin, who was recommended to him, and justly, by the late Primate, as one of the fittest men in the kingdom for such a situation. But unfortunately a tree that fell on his head caused a temporary derangement, and I am afraid he is not going on as well as otherwise he would have done.

On Lord Cornwallis's succeeding, it was hoped that the same system would be followed up; but on the very first vacancy that happened — the school of Bannagher, in my diocese, endowed with lands that bring at present nearly three hundred a year, — Bower Daly, then in *most furious opposition*, applied for it, and got it for William Ponsonby's son, who of course never could be expected to keep a school himself, and who does not even think of employing a substitute, or doing any thing for the income beyond what his predecessors had done. I make no doubt but on investigation you will find many other abuses in this establishment equally flagrant; and in the endowments made by private persons, and even in the diocesan schools, they are numberless.

In correcting this abuse in the foundations to which Government appoints the remedy is easy. Suppose each Bishop should be called upon to report upon the state of such schools as may be in his diocese, who the masters are, and what number of scholars they teach; Government, where they found such an instance as I have alluded to, might follow Lord Camden's example, deprive the man, and substitute a proper person in his

place. As to schools endowed by individuals, whose families appoint to them, instructions might be sent to the Bishops to bring them before the committee for inquiring into the abuses of charitable legacies, which was substituted on the Union for that which sat regularly every year for that purpose in our House of Lords. I have two such in my diocese, and I should be happy to have the orders of the Lord-Lieutenant to report upon them, and his sanction for taking the necessary steps to force these families to answer the intentions of their ancestors instead of putting the funds into the pockets of their younger brothers, or into their own.

One word about the Board of First Fruits, the appropriation of the compensation money, and indeed the whole of their economy and proceedings. Leave it not to the Bishops to regulate them. Take it into your own hands, form your own decisions, and your own plans, and get them enforced by an Act of Parliament. You never will completely accomplish your object in any other way, as I could easily prove to you. I should be sorry to be known to give this advice, as you may well suppose, but I do it conscientiously and for reasons in no way disrespectful to my brethren; but suggested to me by my uniform observations in every matter that I have ever yet known referred to them. . . . .

I am, with the sincerest regard and attachment, dear Sir,
Your obliged and faithful Servant, J. L. MEATH.

First Extract referred to in the preceding Letter.

One of the great objects of the institution was to bring the education of the Roman Catholic Clergy, on whom the morals and conduct of the Roman Catholic body depend almost exclusively, under the inspection of the Government, and, as far as it might be done without violence to their religious prejudices, under its control.

In the accomplishment of this object, I thought, from the first, that the Board of Trustees was improperly constituted. A great majority were Roman Catholics, and the few Protestants who were joined to them seemed to have been nominated rather as a compliment to these Trustees than as forming any efficient or necessary part of their body. It is certain that in no instance (and one or two of very great importance, such as the removal of Hussey, and the expulsion of the United Irish students, have occurred) did any of the Protestant Trustees interfere, nor have they ever been called upon by the others. I submit to your

Lordship whether occasion might not now be taken to correct what I account a great error. Whether, in addition to the present number of Protestant Trustees, the Archbishop of Dublin, as Metropolitan, the Bishop of Kildare, as Diocesan, and some additional officers of the Crown should not be appointed; whether it should not be provided that, for all the great objects of the institution, in its management, its discipline, or the nomination of its members, no meeting of the Board should be held without proper notice being given to the Protestant Trustees, and a specific number of them being present; and whether, of the whole body appointed, a majority should not be Protestants. . . . . .

I perfectly agree with the Chancellor, that a Protestant Government and a Protestant Legislature would act a most absurd and inconsistent part in continuing, at an immense national expense, an establishment, the managers and conductors of which maintain and inculcate on the pupils a principle of inextinguishable opposition and enmity to the Established Church. But if his speech be properly reported in the newspapers, he has taken no notice of what is most dangerous and insupportable in that system, on which the Roman Catholic Bishops have combined to act: I mean the regulation of deterring, by means of excommunication and immediate exclusion from all the benefits and blessings of their Church, all parents who shall send their children to be educated at Protestant schools. The worst enemy of Ireland could not have devised a scheme more effectually calculated to keep this description of His Majesty's subjects a distinct people for ever, and to propagate eternal hatred and enmity between them and the Protestant body. It was obviously a scheme of Hussey's to raise a spiritual wall of separation between them, in the place of that temporal wall which the Legislature had removed, and to counteract the effects of that liberal intercourse which every friend of the country rejoiced to see so generally taking place; but by which the Roman Catholic priests, imprudently left to depend for their subsistence on the number of their votaries, naturally dreaded to be sufferers. This is precisely the same tyranny of which they had themselves so long complained, as violating the first principles of nature by denying the parent the right of educating his own child as seemed best to himself. It differs only in the nature of the punishment, and is the more oppressive as they are more inexcusable in inflicting their spiritual, than the legislature ever was in enforcing its civil, penalties.

But this was not the only evil that was to be apprehended from this system of exclusive education. It was obviously cal-

culated to bring into the hands of the Popish clergy the education of all the lower orders throughout the kingdom. Of this I had myself a convincing proof in the Diocese of Ossory. In several parishes the ministers complained that their schoolmasters had thrown up their schools; the Roman Catholics had withdrawn all their children, and the Protestants were not sufficiently numerous to afford them a livelihood by continuing to teach them. As the rule is universal the consequence must become equally so; and, as the Protestants of the middling and lower orders must necessarily procure some education for their children, the instruction of the youth of those classes, must inevitably be engrossed by the Roman Catholic Clergy, who have the entire direction of their schools. I need not observe how much more effectually this system is calculated to diminish the number of Protestants in Ireland than those institutions which, at a great public expense, have been established to increase them.

Somewhat connected with this abuse, and tending to the same object, is that part of the system alluded to in the report of the Chancellor's speech, that forbids all Roman Catholics to enter a Protestant church, or to assist at a Protestant sermon or exhortation, or to receive any kind of moral or religious instruction from a Protestant minister.

As this is one of the greatest objects of their dread, as threatening most immediately to trench on their emoluments by lessening the number of their congregations, they inexorably punish all who transgress with public excommunication.

With us, in Ireland, excommunication has fallen into disuse, but even when it made a part of the practical discipline of the Church, it required a settled and legal course of proceeding in the Ecclesiastical Courts. But the Roman Catholic bishops and priests exercise this dangerous engine of their power at discretion, and in every instance to which they think proper to attach this penalty; but most generally to deter from heresy. Amongst them it is accompanied by all its ancient terrors; the excommunicated person is driven from all society, no one converses with him, no one will serve him, no one employ him. You will judge whether it is an instrument to be left in such hands, unregulated and uncontrolled: and how far it is to be borne that those men should exercise an authority unknown to the laws of the land, assuming a power above these laws, and tending to deprive the subject of his legal rights beyond the most arbitrary and tyrannical abuse of the civil powers. No man will attempt to deny that such a system deserves to be reprobated by the Government and the

legislature. It is equally undeniable that an establishment conducted by persons engaged in reducing this system to practice, and in which is provided a succession of persons trained and instructed to perpetuate it, should not be so much as tolerated, much less supported at the public expense.

But there is a wide difference between abolishing the establishment, and regulating it, between violating in a moment the faith of Government and the implied pledge of Parliament, and endeavouring to correct the abuses that frustrate the intentions of Government and Parliament, in providing for an institution, which, if properly conducted, must be productive of the greatest public good.

I would enter into a thorough explanation with the Roman Catholic bishops on all these points. I would insist on their formally and practically renouncing this dangerous system in all its parts, and on their giving a pledge that no such doctrines as have been broached by Hussey in his "Pastoral Letters" relative to it, should be taught in their divinity schools, or enforced by their parochial clergy. I would insist on their bringing their discipline of excommunication within the observation of the civil powers and the direction of law. But unless they refuse compliance, and consequently make it manifest that the tendency of any institution for the supply of their priests must be to perpetuate religious divisions and animosities, and to propagate the system of Hussey's pamphlet, I should think it an unwise measure to suffer the education of the Roman Catholic clergy to return to its old course, from which so much mischief has followed to the empire.

On that event they must either go for their education to countries hostile to England, where, in addition to their religious prejudices, they will imbibe those civil prejudices, and that spirit of hatred and resentment of which France and Spain have unremittingly availed themselves since the days of the Reformation to raise a party for themselves to foment domestic disturbances in Ireland; or they will be left to pick up such an education as they can find at home, amidst all the poverty, ignorance, and low vicious habits of the class from which they are generally taken. Even since the establishment of the college at Maynooth I have observed a very flagrant abuse of this nature; and, in an official return which I made to Mr. Pelham of the number of schools in Kilkenny, I pointed it out to him. Under a pretext, or rather taking advantage from the want of a provision at Maynooth for a sufficient supply of their parochial clergy, such as Hussey, with the assistance of their bishops, returned the num-

ber, they put in force a regulation of the Council of Trent, and established a seminary under the direction of the bishop in every diocese. This abuse tends in the first place to multiply their clergy beyond calculation, and to make them swarm in a country where, having no adequate provision, they will, in all probability, minister to the vices of the lower orders to get bread.

In the next place, as the students of these seminaries do not reside in them, but come there occasionally, and at stated periods, as I saw practised at Kilkenny, they must spend the greatest part of their time among their parents and friends, acquiring habits of idleness, and of all the vices which abound among their own class, and must of course become a profligate and abandoned priesthood.

If Government in its wisdom should make a provision for the full supply of their clergy, they ought to be under regulations as the Established Church is; and they could have no reason to complain at the suppression of all private seminaries for the education of priests, or that it should be required of their bishops not to give orders but to persons educated at Maynooth.

Second Extract.

In a letter from London I submitted to you my ideas respecting the Trustees. Some of my objections to that Board, as then constituted, are to be done away by the projected Bill of the Chancellor; nor can I see any objection to the admitting some of the principal Roman Catholic laity among the visitors, nor even the titular Archbishop of Dublin, as I understand your Lordship has lately consented to. But then I hope that some of the acting trustees shall be Protestants, without a certain number of whom being present nothing material should be done; and that the majority of visitors shall be Protestants, and that the Archbishop of Dublin, as metropolitan, and the Bishop of Kildare, as diocesan, shall be of the number. The present prejudices of the Popish Bishops may repugn at this; but, if Government be firm in requiring it, they will give way, and as these prelates will probably be the most watchful and assiduous of the Protestant visitors, they will best answer the purposes for which this mixture of Protestants is designed.

I should further hope that the attention and attendance of the visitors will not be discretionary or reserved for particular occasions and occurrences, but that it shall be provided that they shall visit at regular and fixed periods, at which the acting trustees shall be accountable to them for everything essentially

connected with the establishment, its discipline, its internal regulations, its revenues, the character and conduct of all bearing office, of the professors and students, and every matter into which they should think it expedient to carry their inquiries.

With respect to the course of theological studies, and the doctrines of their school, it may be fortunate that the majority of their bishops, their present president, and, if I am rightly informed, the whole of their professors and masters, have been educated in the different seminaries established for the education of the Irish Roman Catholic Clergy in France. In that case they will have the less objection to submit to some such regulations as prevailed in that kingdom, and by which the whole system of their clerical education was kept under the immediate inspection and control of the civil Government. They will have the less objection to make the immunities of the Gallican Church, and the boundaries which it established between the civil and spiritual power, and against the encroachments and usurpations of the See of Rome, the basis of their national church in Ireland. Nor will it sound new to them to require that the Government should possess the same control over the doctrines they teach, as the Government of France exercised, so far as to see that nothing shall be inculcated or taught by their professors contrary to the peace and tranquillity of the country, the dignity of the Crown, the King's title or authority, the free, unrestrained exercise of the Protestant religion, or the security and permanency of the establishment.

The mode which the Professors of morals and theology followed under the old *régime*, was to compose and commit to writing in books for that purpose, their annual course of studies; out of these they dictated from day to day to the students, who wrote down what was dictated, and were afterwards occasionally examined out of it. These books or *cahiers* were inspected by persons appointed for that purpose by the Government, and at the end of each course, when some of the more distinguished of each school were appointed to hold disputations, or what they called Theses, in public, there were officers appointed for inspecting into the doctrines contained in these theses, nor could any disputation be held upon them in the schools, until they were first signed by the professor of the class, and approved by the public censor.

I make no doubt, but that the Professors of the College of Maynooth follow the same method in delivering their lectures, nor can I see how they should feel any difficulty in submitting their course of morals and theology to the inspection of persons

appointed for the purpose, and responsible to the Government for the doctrines they teach, or that their theses should be signed previous to disputation, by the respective Professors, and copies of them sent to the acting Trustees, the Visitors, and the Principal Secretary.

State of the Question upon the proposed Grant of a Stipendiary Allowance to the Roman Catholic Priests in Ireland, drawn up by Mr. Abbot.

1. THE SUPPOSED PLEDGE. — 2. THE POLICY. — 3. THE MODE AND MEANS.

1. *The supposed Pledge.*

Proposition: — It is said that a direct assurance was given last year to the Romanists (and Presbyterians) that such a provision should be made; and that this assurance was given with the knowledge and approbation of His Majesty.

Contra: — It is said, however, that the Catholic Clergy will not now accept this maintenance, inasmuch as the laity have not obtained the benefit of those concessions of power which they expected.

But the Presbyterians are still desirous of the increased bounty intended for them.

2. *The Policy.*

General preliminary considerations: —

Was the Reformation a right or a wrong measure? And is it fitting for a Protestant Government having the power to strengthen its own establishment and extend its effects, to stop its own progress, and check its growth by any irrevocable Act?

Particular considerations of advantage and disadvantage in adopting the measure: —

1. *Pro.* It may *attach* the Roman Catholics to the State.

Contra. Will it, in fact, attach them to the State? Ought not every true Romanist to reject every offer which invites him to a dependence on a Government which he deems heretical, and tends to give stability to a power which it is his first duty to destroy? Will it not increase the *power* of the Romanists without mending their dispositions? And have they become better subjects since the concessions in 1793?

2. *Pro.* It may detach the Roman Catholic priests from a servile dependence on their parishioners.

Contra. Can you detach the priests from their present dependence upon their parishioners, without giving them a provision at least equal to what they now receive? And if you give it to them, will they not become objects of distrust to their own parishioners, and cease to have that control over them which it is wished to connect with the State? And will not the people rather place their confidence in priests *not so paid*, and consequently not suspected of bias to the Protestant government? of which latter description there are seven or eight priests in some parishes.

3. *Pro.* It may detach them from a dangerous adherence to the Court of Rome.

Contra. Can you detach them from the Court of Rome as long as they deny the king's supremacy? which they have in all ages denied invariably.

4. *Pro.* It may introduce a better and more moral and enlightened description of persons, into the rank and functions of priests.

Contra. Can this be done without multiplying colleges and seminaries in Ireland for that express purpose at the expense of the Protestants? inasmuch as the Roman Catholics have comparatively no property, and have in fact never contributed to the College at Maynooth. The magnificent cathedral which they are now building, at Kells, near Dublin, is a proof that they are willing to make greater exertions for a display of *power* than for rendering themselves useful subjects.

5. *Pro.* The expediency of providing at the public expense for the support of those who dissent from the established religion of the State has been already allowed by founding the College at Maynooth for the Catholics, and by the grant of King William to the nonconforming ministers of the Protestant Church.

Contra. The opposite policy has prevailed for a much greater length of time; by Royal and Parliamentary Acts for establishing and supporting parochial schools, diocesan free schools, royal free schools, and Protestant charter schools, during 250 years, for the express purpose of promoting and extending the established religion of the State, and Protestantising the country, as the surest means of giving it an identity of interests with Great Britain.

3. *The Mode and Means.*

1. *Pro.* By taxing the Catholics to maintain their own clergy.

Contra. This would impose upon them a double tax for religion, as they already pay tithes to the Protestant clergy.

2. *Pro.* By allotting to them some share of the present provision of the Established Church.

Contra. Inadmissible—because the Church is not at present too rich, especially when the united benefices come to be disunited, for there are at present only 1100 benefices in all Ireland though the number of parishes exceeds 2200.

3. *Pro.* By a separate charge on Ireland and an indiscriminate tax upon all its inhabitants.

Contra. This would impose a tax upon the Protestants for the sole purpose of maintaining the Catholics, their inveterate enemies.

4. *Pro.* By a joint charge and tax upon the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

N.B. There are no other modes by which this charge could be defrayed.

Contra. This would give a direct claim to all who dissent from the Established Church in Great Britain, viz. Catholics, Presbyterians, and all other sectaries whatever, and would create an entirely new head of charge, when the present charges are already extremely burthensome.

Further Reasons against the Measure, considered only with respect to the Catholics.

1. The necessity of transacting any such arrangements with the Catholics *through the Court of Rome,* in order to make it acceptable to the Catholics, or binding upon them; and the endless difficulties in controlling the discipline and customs of their Church so as to prevent its hostility to the State. *Ex. gratiâ*:—1st. Restricting the number of Roman Catholic agents resident at Rome, each bishop now having one.—2ndly. The exclusion of all regulars from bishoprics; the present titular Archbishop of Dublin is a Dominican Friar.—3rdly. The exclusion of all priests educated abroad, &c. (see the Bishop of Meath's papers).

2. The arrangement, if made, must depend for its duration upon the *continuing* consent of *successive Popes,* upon whose will, therefore, either free or influenced by other Continental powers, Ireland must depend daily for its peace and safety.

Further Reasons against the Measure, considered with respect to the Protestants.

1. In Ireland. It would form a lasting and irrevocable bar to the long established policy of gradually protestantising the country, and wearing out the attachment to the Catholic religion. It would establish a rival power in everlasting hostility to the Established Church (*res olim insociabiles*), and might even tend to detach the Protestants of Ireland from their affection to the Parliament and Crown of the United Kingdom.

2. In Great Britain. It would lay the foundation of a similar claim, not only for the Roman Catholics here, but equally for all other persons dissenting from the Established Church; and those of every description would require a State provision for their preachers and teachers; viz. Presbyterians, Methodists, Moravians, Quakers, Anabaptists, &c. &c.

Lastly, the whole question of policy with regard to Ireland is momentary; for if peace were restored, rebellion would lose the hope of foreign aid, and the demand of any further concessions would cease to be formidable. A systematic and comprehensive plan for reforming the abuses of the Protestant Church in Ireland, might then be undertaken, and, if temperately but firmly executed, might gradually enlighten the people, soften their manners, and, by building churches and glebehouses, enforcing residence, and improving and multiplying the parochial and diocesan schools, &c., prevail so far, as to reduce the weight and strength of the Roman Catholics to a state which would relieve the Government in time to come, from all anxiety for the public safety.

April 4th, 1801.

Letters, &c., on the General State and Condition of Ireland, &c.

LETTER FROM SIR JOHN PARNELL TO MR. ABBOT.

March 28th, 1801.

Dear Sir,—I feel myself very much obliged to you for the attention which you have been so obliging as to give to my application to you respecting the importation of East India rice into Ireland. I believe the measures which have been taken will prove effectual. Lord Hobart applied yesterday to the Governor and Deputy Governor at the India House, to procure

a private letter to be sent to St. Helena to remove any difficulty which might arise from the expressions or limitations contained in the public despatch.

Though the Company cannot give directions respecting the cargoes, which are private property, they can give their orders to the captains of East Indiamen, who may arrive at a later season. A quantity of rice has been ordered by the Irish Government, which is expected to arrive shortly from the Carolinas in Dublin. I shall be very thankful if part of it may be permitted to be sold to the inhabitants of the Queen's County. I have opened a subscription there. Lord Castlereagh told me that Government would add a moiety to the money subscribed. Mr. Coke's letter, offering a like bounty to the inhabitants of Cork has been published.

I have the honour to be with greatest respect,

Your most obedient, humble servant, J. PARNELL.

LETTER FROM DR. LINDSAY (PRIVATE SECRETARY TO THE LORD-LIEUTENANT) TO MR. ABBOT.

Dublin, June 6th, 1801.

Dear Sir,—I enclose for your information, the promised memorandum.

1. This day I received a monthly report of the state of the district in which General Ross commands, dated Youghal, in which he gives a very pleasing account of the returning industry and peaceable behaviour of the peasantry in that quarter, from whom, he says, nothing is now to be apprehended, *unless* they should have their hopes revived by the *actual descent* of an enemy. He gives also a most consolatory prospect of returning plenty, as the price of provisions continues to decline.

2. I am to transmit regular copies of these reports as they reach me, to His Grace the Duke of Portland, and I acquaint you with this circumstance, because it may be extremely useful to you to have them laid before you, *in transitu*, unless there should be a pressing necessity, to transmit them to the Secretary of State by the most direct channel. The multiplication of copies is certainly to be avoided, and in case of any serious information, you would of course have it by some other channel; but upon the whole, I should wish you to give me your opinion on this head. At the same time I do not desire you to give me a formal answer to it, because your silence upon it, may convey your opinion as well as your writing.

3. I have had a conference to-day with Mr. Sackville Hamilton, touching the harbour of Dublin, and internal navigation. He brought me a vast bundle of papers for the Lord-Lieutenant's perusal; but, as I saw the improbability of his reading them in any reasonable time, I suggested the convenience of letting them remain till I should signify his pleasure to have them; the more particularly as I might venture to say His Excellency would not be contented with a slight knowledge of their contents.

I remain, &c. &c. Charles Lindsay.

MEMORANDUM MENTIONED IN THE PRECEDING LETTER.

Agriculture.

It is evident how essential it is to improve the agriculture of every part of the United Kingdom. Ireland is capable of the greatest improvements. The English Market is a sufficient bounty, if properly managed.

Agricultural spirit has gone abroad: Farming Societies are establishing in different counties. It would be politic to make use of this spirit; it might be wise that the Lord-Lieutenant should become a member; that publications should be diffused on the subject; and that a connection should be formed with the Board of Agriculture in England; that the expenditure of the Dublin Society should be overlooked, and turned to the best purpose.

It is of the utmost consequence to engage the public mind in various pursuits, and speculations distinct from politics.

Mr. Foster is the best person to consult with on this subject: but he is very fond of his own ideas.

LETTER FROM MR. C. LINDSAY.

[Private and Confidential.] Dublin Castle, June 23rd, 1801.

My dear Sir,—I am happy to learn that we have a prospect of seeing you before long, and I may add that your presence will be felt very materially: till you come, the arrangements of business cannot be complete, for no person has his duty exactly ascertained among us new folks.

1. Amidst this confusion, I believe affairs move on, however, without much detriment. The Lord-Lieutenant himself has had the address to put an end to one circumstance which would

have embarrassed him, and you also. Some mischievous person had propagated a report that the Yeomanry were to be called upon immediately for permanent duty, and that a preparatory review was to take place last Friday. The Corps of Lawyers has not been out, it would appear, for two years, and, whether owing to the dread of the review, or to ill humour on account of the Union, Mr. Saurin, its Commander, enclosed his commission to Mr. Marsden, accompanied with an explanatory letter, and his resignation. The Lord-Lieutenant, upon this, wrote a letter addressed to Mr. Marsden, though intended for Mr. Saurin, in which he stated his apprehensions of the effect of such a step at this critical time. With respect to the Yeomanry, he said, he knew of no such intention at the present time as to put them on permanent duty; that it would be every man's duty to resist the enemy, if they should effect a landing in force; that he had not even the thought of a review, and the sum of his intentions at present was to invite the Commanders of the Dublin Yeomanry Corps to the Phœnix Park, when he got there, in order to be made acquainted with the persons of gentlemen to whom the country had certainly been indebted for its safety.

This, being couched in very obliging terms, and complimentary to Mr. Saurin, brought him again into good humour; the commission is again in his pocket, and the Commanders of such corps are to dine with the Lord-Lieutenant on Friday se'nnight at the Phœnix Park. I should have attached very little importance to this subject, now passed over, had I not learned that a mischievous paragraph in the newspapers had worked the same effect upon all the corps in Dublin, who are not yet reconciled to the Union. Had Mr. Saurin began, the rest would have followed. In regard to him, certainly his judgment must have been formed upon some other materials than newspaper or other reports; but I am confident when the dinner has taken place, there will be no danger of his ill example, should it unfortunately happen, which there is no reason for apprehending. For those who can thus be moved by an anonymous report, must be equally sensible of civility, as their whole conduct would seem to depend upon *impressions* and not upon *principles*.

2. Another point of material consequence I have had myself the good fortune to parry.

The streets of Dublin are lined with beggars: partly from the scarcity, and in part from the rebellion, which has brought the widows and children of rebels, and perhaps of the sufferers from rebellion, from the country into Dublin, in addition to its own

poor. Hitherto soup has been distributed at a halfpenny a quart; tickets are bought by charitable persons at shops appointed to sell them, and with these the poor are supplied as alms from individuals. Of course the beggars of the most address obtain most tickets, and sell them to persons still more wretched than themselves. This would be a small inconvenience, but the subscriptions of parishes, and the bounty of individuals begin to diminish, and the poor have relied upon this species of relief, till their natural idleness has become habitual, and now, in the midst of summer, Dublin remains as full of destitution as in the depth of winter.

Perplexed, therefore, with this natural consequence of indiscriminate bounty, the parishes, ten days ago, held vestry meetings for the purpose of considering how to make a better provision for persons unable to work, and to dispose of those who are fit for labour. The result of this deliberation was to send deputations from each parish to join, on a certain day, in an application to the Lord-Lieutenant for some legislative measures.

This application, without plan or concert, would actually have taken place if I had not by accident one day sat next to Archdeacon Fowler, who in conversation told me of it. I represented to him the embarrassment which so decided a step would occasion. Without plans to offer, or any feasible suggestions to make, what could they expect from a new Lord-Lieutenant, whose administration as to all matters of internal policy must be imperfect till the *arrival of the Chief Adviser?* That no delay would be occasioned by pausing, for Parliament would not sit long enough to be moved upon such a topic with any effect, and certainly there would be time enough after your arrival to hold such consultations as would be indispensably necessary to be held, before any outward demonstration of solicitude on such a subject should be shown on the part of the parishes.

The House of Industry, he said, was full; 1700 people being within its walls, and nothing further could be done for the relief of the poor, if the bounty of Government should cease in making good the difference between the actual sale and prime cost of the soup; but that he saw the hopelessness of the plan in agitation, and, if he could stop it by using his influence in his own parish, he would. In such a case he hoped the other parishes would also pause. This has been done, and the subject is at rest, as I was informed yesterday by Mr. Fowler. Whether that gentleman meant to be consequential or not, I cannot say, but I am assured from other quarters that some such thing has been in agitation.

When the Lord-Lieutenant is more at leisure, several persons wish to communicate with him upon the subject of the poor, and among the number is Dr. Browne of the College.

Yours most faithfully, CHARLES LINDSAY.

LETTER FROM SIR JOSEPH BANKS* TO MR. ABBOT.

Soho Square, July 15th, 1801.

My dear Sir,— Your questions on the subject of drainage are so general that I am not sure I shall be able to answer them to your satisfaction. The drainage of bogs, with which Ireland abounds, and that of marshland lying near the sea, are acts extremely different from each other. The first, which I apprehend Ireland is most in want of, I have never had occasion to study, nor do I know that any books have been published on the subject; detached observations, however, occur in the Surveys of Counties, published by the Board of Agriculture; and possibly in some other works. Of these, Mr. Arthur Young can give you a much better account than I can do.

The drainage of marsh lands near the sea is, I believe, competently understood by all our principal civil engineers. Rennie is the man I have employed in the Lincolnshire drainage, for which an Act passed this year: and he has made his plans much to the satisfaction of the proprietors of 6000 acres. And Mr. Chapman, who has been much in Ireland, also understands this business very well. This branch of the art I consider as comparatively much better understood than the other, for I do not at present recollect any one instance of a large bog having been effectually drained and reclaimed. Mr. Elkinton, the great drainer of small bogs by sapping them, has undertaken a middle-sized one, but how far his success has been complete, I do not know; his health, however, has so much declined of late, that I fear the strength of his mind is broken down. . . . .

Believe me, my dear Sir, your faithful humble servant,

JOSEPH BANKS.

LETTER FROM THE RT. HON. JOHN BERESFORD TO MR. ABBOT.

Walworth, near Derry, August 17th, 1801.

My dear Sir,

. . . . . .

The country hereabouts is very quiet at present, and I am

* President of the Royal Society.

informed that the lower order of the people are much changed in their opinions. They say that the farmers set them on to rebellion; that they believe that the famine they have suffered for two years, was a punishment from God; that the farmers who set them on, instead of assisting them in their distress, took advantage of them, and made fortunes at their expense that the gentlemen of the country made subscriptions to assist them, and Government brought in provisions which saved them from starving; they are therefore at this moment friends of Government. What a very abundant harvest may do, I cannot say; our people are very saucy when their bellies are full.

Never was there such a prospect of a harvest seen in this country, and every sign of good weather to get it in safe; they are reaping in all parts of the country. The consequence will be that you will very soon have applications made to you to permit malting and distilling; it is therefore prudent in you to consider beforehand what ought to be done.

I have no hesitation to give it as my opinion that, in case the harvest is well got in, it would be right to permit malting as soon as may be done, for the country is in great distress, both for malt liquor and for spirits, that is, in short, for drink. And the consequence is that, if they cannot get it legally, they will certainly get it as they can; and the scarcity, and of course the high price, is such a premium to the private malting and distilling, that it will be carried on to an enormous extent, and the corn will be used and the people supplied with both beer and spirits; and neither the malt nor the spirits will pay duty, and the people who set out in the private trade will stick to it for a long time; and as the pressure of the times obliged the army to be so cantoned that they may easily be drawn together, it will be impossible to make revenue arrangements of the military, which may enable the revenue officers to suppress the clandestine trade, and we are therefore to expect more fraud than ever.

My dear Sir, yours very sincerely and faithfully,

J. BERESFORD.

EXTRACTS OF LETTERS FROM MR. CHARLES YORKE TO MR. ABBOT.

[Private.] War Office, July 16th, 1801.

Dear Abbot,— . . . . The arrangement of affairs with Russia is matter of real congratulation, as well as our continued successes

in Egypt. The landing of the Bombay* army at Suez must in all probability put an end to the contest on the side of Cairo. How long Alexandria may hold out I have no means of judging at present. Portugal is likely to be a thorn in our side; it is hazardous and almost impracticable to afford her any effectual assistance, and yet it is strongly demanded. Our first care, however, must be to take care of ourselves.

Yours ever, C. Yorke.

[Private and confidential.] Charles Street, Aug. 18th, 1801.

My dear Abbot,—. . . . You are probably as well apprised of what is going on with respect to matters military and civil as I am, or better. The secret of the Cabinet appears to be well kept. *Tant mieux.* I think, however, I collect from some words lately dropped, that *great efforts* are making to procure peace, if it can be had on any terms short of absolute ruin and dishonour, which I very much doubt. One report is that our *ultimatum* is actually gone over within these few days; and that a settlement is not so distant as some imagine; and in the city, if one is to augur at all from the appearances there, they seem to be of that opinion. The funds are very high. A friend of ours made the observation that if the war continued two years longer, we might find ourselves aground in matters of finance, and obliged in the middle of success to make a worse peace from necessity than we might do now. In answer also to a question about the probable assembling of Parliament, it was observed that, if a peace should take place, it would be advisable to obtain the opinion of Parliament as soon as possible, otherwise not till near Christmas.

By the bye, these measures of extraordinary precaution, lately adopted, will cut deep into the treasury; on the other hand, no one, I think, can doubt of Buonaparte's inveteracy. It is, I believe, extreme against this country; and, notwithstanding all that has been said of his magnanimity and wisdom, for my part I give him credit for neither, in their true sense. He has the *great qualities* of a *great villain* and successful robber, and no other; and in the present state of France, I would not give a twelvemonth's purchase for any peace, however fair upon the face of it, that can be had with it. At the same time we certainly require breathing time, and the people will not be

* This was a force sent by Lord Wellesley from India under General Baird to co-operate with Abercromby, but it did not arrive till after the battle of Alexandria, and the surrender of Cairo.

satisfied without the name of it. It is astonishing how few really seem to appreciate the true difficulties and dangers of Europe, and Great Britain. In this view of the subject, the short period which remains for the existence of the present Parliament is very material to be considered.

France on her part, I mean the military despots of France, may possibly incline to a *truce*, with a view to throwing us off our guard, and procuring the laying up of our navy, and disbanding the greater part of our army. When this is done, Ambassador Bernadotte or Joseph Buonaparte is instructed to offer some insult, pick a quarrel, pass over to Calais, and in a week's time the garrisons of Flanders and the Netherlands embark on the Maese and Scheldt, and are in the mouth of the Thames, perhaps on the coasts of Kent and Essex. The substance of this idea should be embodied in a few words, and written in large letters over the doors of both Houses of Parliament, and on the canopy of the King's throne.

The question of our internal defence and preparation must indisputably be very different from what it was formerly, and a very serious and weighty question it will be. Every shilling that can be spared, or by any means scraped together, must be scrupulously and zealously devoted to this object. *Libertas et anima nostra in dubio est. En attendant,* the fall of Cairo, and failure of Gantheaume in his attempt to land his troops, (which seems now to be clearly ascertained, though Government at first undoubtedly believed otherwise,) have in all probability by this time produced the fall of Alexandria, and consequently, the evacuation of Egypt by the French.* But will this make them more reasonable in their terms? I doubt it. Must we not keep some garrisons there, to prevent the French falling on it again? and would this be consistent with, or admissible into, any terms of peace? And who shall guarantee the inoffensive possession of Malta and Egypt, as in times of yore? . . .

Adieu, C. Yorke.

[Private.] Charles Street, Oct. 12th.

My dear Abbot,— . . . The Union must of course bring on the necessity of material changes in the former mode of conducting the business of Ireland, and must induce a more

* In fact, Belliard, the French General at Cairo, had capitulated on May 22nd, on condition of being conveyed with his soldiers to France, and Menou, though he held Alexandria some time longer, surrendered that city a fortnight after the date of this letter.

frequent and more immediate interference of the principal branches of Government here with the Irish administration. One point I understand to be decidedly settled and agreed upon, and it is certainly the most material of all; viz. that Ireland must continue to be governed by a Lord-Lieutenant sent from hence; a proposition of which hitherto many had doubted, and that doubt had given room to much uncertainty and unsteadiness in particular with respect to the degree of support and countenance that the *present* Government was to receive; at least, I suspect so. This proposition, however, being once decided in the affirmative, the practical corollaries to be deduced from it appear to me pretty obvious; and among others, the necessity of retaining an Irish office, upon which, as Littlehales will tell you, I agree in the main with you, and particularly with regard to the more convenient and expeditious way of carrying through the detail of business in Parliament, which must be undertaken by somebody (either the Chief Secretary, or Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer *), and never will be by the Prime Minister. I have told Lord Pelham and Addington my sentiments, but the former appears decidedly of a different opinion, and when it is to be settled I know not. If for the *Abolition*, you, I presume, will be inclined to think that your duty is in future to be considered as principally applied to Ireland, at Dublin. And I, for one, do not at all like the idea of missing your attendance on the Treasury Bench at Westminster . . . .

Adieu, ever affectionately and truly yours, C. YORKE.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. G. WATSON† TO MR. ABBOT.

[Private.] London, Sept. 7th, 1801.

My dear Sir,—We understand that the negotiations must come to an issue in a few days, but that it is not expected to be in favour of peace. A very ingenious foreigner, much patronised by Government, for whom he also writes, informs me that Buonaparte's preparations are to the full extent of his means; and that, conceiving the armaments in the ports of Holland and the Netherlands to be the right wing of the attack, those in the Channel the centre, and those on the western coast of France the left wing, the chief attempt will be from thence upon Ireland, the other two operating as feints. The sooner this effort is

* This office was abolished in 1824.

† Afterwards known as Mr. Watson Taylor. He had at this time a situation in the Irish Office.

passed the better; it is the last that can be made immediately against us, and failing, as it must do, I hope the Chief Consul will find it necessary to accommodate all differences with a power which he cannot humble. . . . .

Yours most faithfully, G. WATSON.

Letters and Papers having reference to the Defence of Ireland, both generally and in reference to an expected Attempt of the French at the Moment.

CIRCULAR FROM COLONEL BROWNRIGG, ADJUTANT-GENERAL, TO GENERAL OFFICERS COMMANDING DISTRICTS.

[Secret.] Horse Guards, July 21st, 1801.

Sir,—I have the Commander-in-Chief's commands to acquaint you that from unquestionable intelligence there is the strongest reason to believe that an immediate descent upon the coasts of the Channel is intended by the enemy. I am therefore to recommend you from His Royal Highness that you give orders for the utmost vigilance to be observed throughout your district, particularly by the troops stationed immediately upon the coast, and that in general they may be held in readiness to act with the greatest promptitude and effect against the enemy. And His Royal Highness is pleased to desire that you will communicate for his information any circumstances that may strike you as being necessary for the better defence of the district under your command, on which you may not already have received instructions.

I have, &c. ROBERT BROWNRIGG.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM COLONEL BROWNRIGG TO COLONEL HOPE.*

Dated, July 21st, 1801.

The intelligence received within these few days, of the formidable state of preparation the enemy is in to carry their purpose of invasion into execution, gives little reason to doubt but that they will risk the enterprise very speedily.

I enclose a copy of a circular letter I have written by this day's post, to the Generals commanding districts.

* Colonel Hope was Adjutant-General in Ireland.

Should affairs here become serious, and should the enemy arrive in such force as to gain a footing in the country, you must be prepared to send in a reinforcement of a few thousand men, as you will certainly in that event be called upon.

FROM COLONEL HOPE TO LORD GARDNER.*

[Secret and Confidential.] Royal Hospital, Dublin, July 29th, 1801.

My Lord, — I am desired by the Commander of the forces to intimate to your Lordship that a letter which I have this day received from Colonel Brownrigg, states the preparations in the narrow seas to be so formidable as to warrant the expectation of a powerful attempt being made to invade England.

Every preparation by sea and land is made to invade by the enemy, and sanguine expectations may be entertained that a signal defeat in the first instance may render all further precautions unnecessary. His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief, however, judges it wise that we should be prepared to reinforce, if necessary, from this country.

I have, therefore, the honour to intimate to your Lordship that such a reinforcement would consist in the first instance of nearly 5000 men from Cork, if the west of England was the object. If Scotland or the side of Liverpool was the point, a similar force might be sent from the north and Dublin. In this latter instance perhaps shipping for the purpose might be seized in Belfast and Dublin; and Sir W. Meadows is very solicitous your Lordship should turn in your mind the possibility of transporting the force from Cork on board His Majesty's ships now under your command. He is desirous no preparation should be made from the trade of Cork, which would cause a dangerous alarm in the country, by providing for a service which in all probability may not be demanded. For the same reason no communication is made to the army in the south upon this occasion.

Sir William Meadows further directs me to request your Lordship will hurry the departure of the Dutch Rifle Corps, which, by a report from Major-General Myers, ought to have embarked before now for the Isle of Wight, and it is with great deference submitted to your Lordship whether some exertion could not be made for the immediate despatch of the 4th Dutch regiment to the same point, now waiting for transports. General Myers has sufficient authority to embark this corps

* The Admiral commanding the fleet on the west of Ireland.

upon its being signified to him that shipping is ready to receive them.

I have the honour to be, &c. A. HOPE, A.G.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER TO COLONEL BROWNRIGG FROM COLONEL HOPE.

[Secret.] Royal Hospital, July 29th, 1801.

It seems admitted that the question of reinforcing England depends upon an actual footing having been gained in the country by the enemy, otherwise *this* country is endangered *unnecessarily*. This preliminary settled, we will reinforce to the full bent of our means, and place the yeomanry of the country upon permanent duty. The most obvious means of reinforcing would be to England from Cork; to Scotland or the centre of England from the north, either by Lough Swilly, Carrickfergus, or Dublin. A previous assembly of the troops destined for either case would be unwise; they are already contiguous to Cork. The assembly in the north would be made in the time requisite to bring the shipping to receive them.

LETTER FROM THE PRINCE DE BOUILLON TO LORD HOBART.

Jersey, August 20th, 1801.

My Lord,—Enclosed I have the honour to transmit to your Lordship the continuation of communications from the head-quarters of the western army (Bernadotte's), where it appears decided the expeditions from Brest and Rochfort are to be kept in a state of preparation, to avail themselves of any movement that may be made to the eastward in their favour. Notwithstanding the affectation with which the Cape of Good Hope and India are spoken of at Brest, the opinion at head-quarters is always that Ireland is the object of one if not both these divisions.

I am, &c. D'AUVERGNE, PRINCE DE BOUILLON.*

Copy [mentioned above].

CONTINUATION OF THE COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE HEAD-QUARTERS OF THE WESTERN ARMY.

August 17th, 1801.

The General-in-Chief, Bernadotte, is still at Brest, but is

* The Prince was at this time a Post Captain in our Navy.

about proceeding to La Rochelle. The number of troops at Brest has not been increased since the last reports. Two line-of-battle ships, of 74 guns each, have been substituted for the Ocean (120 guns) in the division destined for sea.

It appears decided that the expedition will be ready to put to sea about the time of the equinox.

Orders are given to grant no leave of absence for more than twenty-four hours to any of the officers attached to this expedition.

The General of Division, Laborde, is not yet arrived at Brest.

The expedition preparing at La Rochelle is completing with every expedition. It is still composed of eight line-of-battle ships and three frigates, to be commanded in chief by Admiral Bruix (who has nearly recovered his health), with Rear-admiral Treguet under his orders.

The ships of this division have already embarked four select battalions of infantry, completed to 600 men each; and the 56th demi-brigade is on the spot under orders for embarkation. General Oudelot, it appears now, will not have the command in chief of the troops destined for embarkation, but it will be confided to a General of Division not yet named.

A battalion of 600 men of 82nd demi-brigade, that was to have gone from Morlaix to St. Maloes to be embarked on board the flat gun-vessels, has not yet left the former place, although those vessels only await their garrison party to proceed towards the general rendezvous, Boulogne.

The new frigate, the Consolante, at St. Maloes, likewise only waits the completing the crew and garrison party to be fit for sea.

The Ministers of Marine and Maritime Prefect of Brest are equally pressing for more disposable troops.

The gunbrig Hargneuse and cutter Souffleur remain at Granville; eighteen of the officers commanding the flat gun-vessels at St. Maloes have orders to keep them in constant readiness for service.

D'AUVERGNE, PRINCE DE BOUILLON.

Jersey, August 20th, 1801.

CONTINUATION OF COMMUNICATIONS FROM BREST DIRECT.

Sept. 16th, 1801.

The crews of the division for sea have been paid this morning, five months; the three last of the ninth year, and the two first, in advance, for the tenth year.

There are 400 troops on board each of the sixteen line-of-battle ships; they are under the orders of General Humbert, who is himself embarked in the Cisalpin, with Admiral Dordelin: the division is perfectly ready to put to sea. Orders are given for all the launches to be finally hoisted in this evening.

Head-Quarters of the Western Army. Sept. 7th, 1801.

The division prepared for an expedition at Brest has been reported to the Commander in Chief to consist of sixteen sail of the line, *French*, several corvettes and avisos, upon all of which troops are to be embarked; and it is now said here that neither Spanish ships nor any person of that nation will have any share in the first expedition. The Vanguard is under the command of M. Magon, an officer of merit, having considerable property in the Isle of France. The returns state that the desertions of the army about Brest increase to an alarming degree: the soldiers' example is followed by many of the sailors of the fleet; and they are met in numbers every day, returning to the interior, all manifesting a great dislike to the forced embarkation.

All the ammunition and warlike effects embarked on board the ships of the expedition are parcelled out in cases calculated to be borne by two men. These have been sent from Paris, with orders that all the effects should be packed in as portable parcels as possible.

It has been mentioned with affectation, *by directions from Government*, that Gibraltar was the object of the expedition; which still continues under the supreme command of Villaret; and the troops under that of General Humbert are composed as follows:—

Infantry	4200
Artillery and Gunners	250
Marines for debarkation	1500
Pioneers	200
Seamen drilled to arms	1200
Total of Humbert's Division	7350 rank and file.

Government has also directed that it should be mentioned, with affectation of mystery, that the army of the expedition against Portugal that is still in Spain, remains there to await the junction of the Brest fleet at Cadiz, to proceed against Gibraltar: but it is certain that the arms, ammunition, and intrenching tools, &c., precedingly embarked in the ships, are still on board, under the directions of, and at the disposal of, all the Generals who were

heretofore designed as those to whom the execution of the plans projected for Vindemiaire (against Ireland), were confided, and which officers are still attached to the expedition, and are embarked for it.

General Humbert, who is the intimate friend of Villaret, is the only chief officer of the land forces in good intelligence with Villaret and the other naval chiefs; he is a zealous promoter of the object of the expedition; and is embarked on board the Cisalpine with Admiral Dordelin.

The staff of the engineer department are embarked in a store ship, deeply laden, and reported so bad a sailer, that they universally ask their friends' commissions for England.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM THE PRINCE DE BOUILLON.

Jersey, Sept. 24th, 1801.

Notwithstanding the insinuations that appear purposely circulated by the French Government, the weight of the present armament at Brest is destined against Ireland, at the same time that a general attempt is made from all quarters on every point of His Majesty's dominions in Europe.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER FROM LORD CASTLEREAGH.

Mt. Stewart, Sept. 23rd.

My dear Sir,

. . . . . .

I understand from Major Houghton that it is in contemplation to appoint district paymasters for the purpose of subsisting recruiting parties, as well as counteracting the present exorbitant discount on bank paper. — The services of this officer were so very distinguished throughout the whole period of disturbance and rebellion in the north, that in bearing my testimony to his character and services . . . I trust His Excellency will acquit me of any disposition to trouble him with any embarrassing application. . . . . .

I cannot learn that there is any active spirit of organisation in this quarter. There is a general expectation of invasion, which is an object anxiously looked for, as you may imagine, by a large portion of our former rebels; but I cannot trace any measures for arming or disciplining. Singing and dancing parties by night, which bring together eighty or one hundred young men, have been observed of late to be more frequent, and I am told

the persons so assembled consider themselves as belonging to the same rebel company. I am persuaded, however, that the tranquillity of the north will remain undisturbed until the enemy shall have established himself not only in force, but in possession of a considerable portion of the country.

Believe me, dear Sir, with great truth, most faithfully yours,

CASTLEREAGH.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. H. LEGGE* TO MR. ABBOT.

Irish Office, Oct. 2nd, 1801.

Dear Abbot,— . . I give you joy of the signing preliminaries between Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Otto. News is arrived from Egypt this morning, and I understand that Menou offered to capitulate on the 24th. . . .

Yours ever truly, H. LEGGE.

LETTER FROM MR. ABBOT TO MR. ADDINGTON.

[Private and confidential.] Dublin Castle, Oct. 5th, 1801.

My dear Sir,—I have already troubled you with one letter to-day upon the most fortunate news† which this country could have received. Permit me to state one or two points immediately growing out of this event. The first of them is for immediate consideration.

I have just proposed to the Lord-Lieutenant to suspend from this day all further orders for Courts Martial under the Martial Law Bill, until we know your opinion upon this point. The continuance of the war, as feeding the rebellion with hope of foreign aid, was the foundation of the necessity for the measure itself. That has ceased; and special commissions, if called for by any new and violent outrages, may suffice for extraordinary cases till the spring circuits come again. In Parliament you may yourself possibly think it right to move a repeal of the law which otherwise is to continue to March 25th, or the repeal of it may, and probably will, be moved by Opposition; and in either case it will be desirable to show the earliest disposition in Government to revert to the ordinary course of justice. Besides which, the public impressions that tranquillity as well as peace is restored to the country is of the highest importance to its welfare.

* The Hon. H. Legge, fifth son of the second Earl of Dartmouth, who at this time held a situation in the Irish Office.

† The conclusion of the peace with France.

Pardon me if I take also the very first moment to urge the necessity of executing Lord Cornwallis's ideas of establishing two or three great fortresses in this country, which his military views of its defence had convinced him to be essentially necessary for its safety.* A large army cannot, and perhaps ought not to be disbanded very quickly in this country, and the construction of such works, as well as the extension of military roads for communication and civilisation, will furnish the natural and easy means of giving occupation to the voluntary labours of soldiers who may thus gradually disperse, and revert to the habits of peace and industry. . . . .

Yours ever, my dear Sir, most faithfully, CHARLES ABBOT.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM MR. ABBOT TO MR. ADDINGTON.

Dublin, Oct. 16th, 1801.

My dear Sir,—. . . . . In the course of the last three days a great number of Irish members are gone over. I have seen most of them in their passage. Beresford, who has been in the north all the summer, sails to-day for England. Parnell goes over, but the Ponsonbys do not go. Corry † left us on Friday. He has been a very serviceable and kind friend to us, and from him you may hear all that you can wish to know of us and our situation, our objects, our successes, our difficulties, and our enemies open and secret, who, of course (as always has happened with regard to Ireland), traduce those who are serving her, and endeavour by misrepresentations to undermine them in England.

It is not very probable that you will find in the Irish any other sentiment at present, than a real gratitude for peace, which has saved their lives and their estates from destruction. But you will soon have desultory conversations about Catholic establishment, Dissenters' provision, tithes, &c., all of which will, of course, be easily put by till they come to be debated regularly and distinctly upon specific propositions of policy, for the whole of the United Kingdom. And if a general election is soon expected, that object alone will engross all their attention. The reduction of the military force in Ireland, involves more

* See Lord Cornwallis's Correspondence, vol. ii. p. 379. There is also a very interesting despatch on the subject of fortresses proposed to be erected in Ireland, in the 5th vol. of the Supplementary Despatches of the Duke of Wellington, p. 28.

† The Irish Chancellor of Exchequer.

difficulties of detail than in England. The militia is composed of not less than four different descriptions of men in each regiment, enlisted for different periods of service. The returns are collecting which will show you the best course to be taken. Sir William Meadows thinks that none of the yeomanry should at present be disbanded (except perhaps the cavalry), but that their days of exercise should be reduced in number, which will reduce the expense, and yet keep each corps connected for purposes of occasional exertion in maintaining the internal tranquillity of the country. Upon these points, when the materials are completed, a regular despatch will be sent to Lord Pelham.

In revenue, I think we shall do very well for next year without any new tax whatever. The malting and distilling will produce, at the least, 400,000*l.* or 500,000*l.*, in addition to the Revenue of last year, besides a large increase in the Customs and Excise from a growing trade, and a more strict and vigilant collection. And in consequence of a system of regulations, which has occupied a great deal of time between Corry and me, I think we may confidently expect a very large increase upon the present receipt from the existing stamp duties.

My dear Sir, most faithfully yours, CHARLES ABBOT.

LETTER FROM MR. CORRY TO MR. ABBOT.

Oct. 29th, 1801, Six o'clock.

The day has gone off in the House of Commons incomparably well. Fox in a few sentences concurred in the Address. Pitt followed him. Wyndham expressed his disapprobation of the peace, as the source of future evils, possibly to the ruin of this country. He was answered by Addington with great ability and address, who deprecated the thought of taking refuge under any inability of the empire to continue the war. Sheridan said it was a bad thing, but good to have; a peace worthy of the war concluded by it. But the whole of the debate upon the peace is by common consent postponed till Tuesday next for the preliminaries; and the Friday following, for the pacification with Russia, Denmark, and Sweden. Thanks to Lord Keith *, Hutchin-

* Lord Keith and Sir John Hely Hutchinson who had succeeded to the command of the army in Egypt on the death of Sir Ralph Abercrombie (killed in the battle of Alexandria, March 21st), were thanked for their operations against the French in that country; and Sir James Saumarez for an attack made by him, with 5 sail of the line, 1 frigate, and a couple of

son, and Sir James Saumarez; to be moved by Mr. Addington.

. . . . Ever yours most truly, ISAAC CORRY.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. CORRY TO MR. ABBOT.

. . . I have talked upon many matters with Addington, and the plan is to take a vote of supplies for three months on the present establishments; if any saving in that period from reduction or otherwise, it will come in as means for the remaining part of the year; and we are recommended to pursue the same plan. I therefore write so much as *caution*, which you, as a great military character, will understand, and after the breakfast of Monday next, which I am to have with Vansittart, I will give you the word for the manner and scale and period of the estimates that may be thought most proper. . . . . .

Lord Castlereagh interrupted me by a call. I am happy to say that he supports the peace.

Ever yours most truly, ISAAC CORRY.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS FROM MR. H. LEGGE TO MR. ABBOT.

Irish Office, Oct. 31st, 1801.

Dear Abbot,— . . . I have from time to time sent you all such intelligence as I have been able to pick up relating to the state of parties here, and the private opinions of individuals with regard to peace. You know, I suppose, that Lord Castlereagh supports it, and though I tell you, you must not tell again, that Lord Grenville says that if Mr. Pitt had talked to him with half of the openness and half the good sense which he has heard upon the subject from Lord Castlereagh, he doubts much whether he should have taken the line in which he must now continue.

The King is supposed to be in his heart averse to the treaty, and great speculations are probably going on with a view of turning his sentiments to the advantage of a party who would be glad to belong once more to administration. There probably will be an attempt to overthrow Mr. Addington's administration by Wyndham, Lord Spencer, Lord Rosslyn, if he can return from Bath, and some others who have been paying their court at Weymouth . . . . .

Yours ever most sincerely, H. LEGGE.

small vessels, on a French and Spanish squadron, under Admirals Linois and Moreno, of 9 sail of the line (2 being of 112 guns) and a frigate; in which the two Spanish first-rates were blown up, and one French 74 taken. The action was fought near Gibraltar, July 13th.

P.S. Colonel Littlehales has just come in. I am rejoiced to find from him that nothing will be settled with regard to our suppression till you come to England, and that we are likely to see you soon, notwithstanding the desire expressed for your remaining in Ireland.

Irish Office, Nov. 4th, 1801.

Dear Abbot,— . . . I congratulate you upon last night's debate in the House of Commons. After all the vaunting upon the great and respectable minority which was to oppose the peace, who would have expected to see them shrink from a division? Mr. Pitt, I hear, outdid himself, and though, perhaps, he had of all men in the House, the most difficult task to perform, in defending articles of peace, which (without reviling them one may say) contradict all his recorded principles upon the subject; yet his was the speech which produced the effect upon the House, destroyed the hopes of the Opposition, and prevented the division.

Ever most sincerely yours, H. L.

LETTER FROM MR. CORRY TO MR. ABBOT.

London, Nov. 4th, 1801.

No congratulations are adequate to the day which we witnessed on the preliminaries of peace yesterday. The utmost unanimity of both Houses, the temper and moderation of all parties in the House of Commons, the suppression of acrimony by those heretofore engaged in mutual invective, the general attention to everything that had for its object the public advantage, and the concurrence of opinion as to the means, as well as of sentiment as to the object, of future safety; all these united exhibited a sketch of British patriotism that gives a prospect of future strength and prosperity worthy of the exalted part which this country has acted in the war that is now drawn to a conclusion. The symptoms that have shown themselves of probable co-operation hereafter on all hands for retrieving the state of the empire, must produce considerable effects on France and throughout Europe, whilst at home it forebodes to the present Ministry stability if not tranquillity for the winding up the complicated businesses that press on all sides.

Had you been present you would have received infinite satisfaction. Lord Hawkesbury was able and successful in his speech beyond former character. Lord Castlereagh, able; Mr. Pitt, excellent; Charles Fox, strenuous in praise of the peace,

though not unmindful of some attack on Pitt and others of the late Ministry. Lee was very well in seconding, though rather long in the estimation of the House. To-day we are to hear Wyndham, Wilberforce, Dr. Lawrence, and others.

Ever yours truly, ISAAC CORRY.

FROM THE SAME.

London, Nov. 5th, 1801.

Wyndham was yesterday ingenious and extravagant, in his best manner, however, and with extraordinary ability. His principles lead to unlimited warfare as to duration, and he failed in showing how, in any degree, the effect was to be produced of coercing or repressing France from her present situation by any system of hostility that Great Britain could pursue. He was admired, but disapproved.

Dr. Lawrence made the most substantial speech that was delivered on the occasion, and was patiently heard.

Elliott made a speech that did him much credit with all sides. He displayed great judgment in the selection of what he brought forward, great taste in the composition, and great powers in the delivery. He was short, well heard, and universally applauded.

Addington, in a short winding-up, leant heavy on the late Ministry, parties to the treaties of Lisle and Paris; and pointed his censures, with a saving in a certain degree of Wyndham, more directly against Lord Grenville, meaning that that distinction should be taken unequivocally. He is wonderfully improved in speaking, and, in a whisper, when I have told him so, accounts for it by the agitation which all the circumstances of the session then caused, and his being at this time less embarrassed by a thousand considerations. He is in high estimation and great strength, his situation widely differing, as he observed to me, from that in which he and I first met last year in Palace Yard at our first interview. . . . .

Yours always truly, I. C.

FROM THE SAME.

[Secret.] Nov. 14th, 1801.

. . . . . I had yesterday conversation with Lord Castlereagh respecting corn. He asked me whether the system was to be considered, and thought it ought to be inquired fully into before any discussion in Parliament, either before the Privy

Council, in the respective counties, or before a committee above stairs. I think that, if he or others like him are of that opinion, inquiry could not be refused. And having this day communicated with Vansittart, he is of the same opinion, Vansittart also concurring with me in thinking that your absence, and the propriety of not agitating the public mind on the subject before decision may immediately follow discussion, afford a sufficient reason for not opening the subject in Parliament or to the public in any way during the present sitting. After Christmas it may be taken up, and in the meantime I submitted that proceedings on the part of Government should in both countries mature it for Parliamentary consideration.

. . . . . There is an Act here of 1799 prohibiting the use of wheat in distilling. On consultation with Vansittart it is determined to let Ireland stand as she does where it is not prohibited till that subject be taken up at large. On that point you will therefore be prepared in case of application to you.

Yours always most sincerely, Isaac Corry.

FROM THE SAME.

London, Nov. 14th, 1801.

On the Convention Lord Hawkesbury yesterday was excellent; his character in the House of Commons rises daily and justly. His speech was better than that on the peace. You will see by the papers that Grey, Erskine, and Tierney gave testimony in favour of the Convention, and the last the unequivocal declaration of his support to the Ministry. This "Ministry of six weeks," as it was described last year by the discerning patriots, seems to wax solid and substantial rather beyond their hopes. It is a smooth and, I hope, not a deceitful tide in which they are floating with full unruffled sail.

Yours very faithfully, I. Corry.

P.S. After the House.

Littlehales writes to C. Yorke*, desiring if you are in England that he will show you his letter, therefore having just been shown it I may tell you the contents.

The Plenipotentiary arrived at Paris the 7th. His reception on the way, at Calais, Amiens, Beauvais, &c., respectful and magnificent by the military and municipal bodies; at Paris similar attentions from the Ministers, &c. The illuminations superb, and the concourse of the people was immense; not the

* From Paris.

smallest irregularity took place, owing, as he says, to a police of singular vigilance, activity, and efficiency; aided by a body of troops respectable for their numbers, and celebrated for their discipline.

How far the aid mentioned and the commentary to be deduced from that *scene* is a diplomatic report of a *good, substantial, military* Government, I leave to the decision of the ingenious reader.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM LORD MUNCASTER TO MR. ABBOT.

London, Nov. 14th, 1801.

My dear Sir,— . . . You do not need from me any character of the debate, but I cannot help saying to you that Lord Hawkesbury's was the most chaste speech of a man of business I almost ever heard. Pitt, whose conduct throughout does him high honour, made, under all the obvious difficulties of the circumstances, a most admirable speech. He dwelt, however, upon the importance of the Cape. Fox seemed to labour to unsay what he had previously said at the Tavern *, and Wyndham not only spoke with his usual imprudence, but to my view of things (though not perhaps intentionally on his part), with a mischievous tendency. I own I felt considerably disappointed with Mr. J. Granville, for he had nothing to put to the account of thinking him afraid of his own voice, which, last night, was the case with young Ryder, who happily got over it, and made an excellent speech, seconding the motion on the northern business. Lord Hawkesbury was better and more splendid than ever upon the treaty with France. Mr. Addington spoke extremely satisfactorily upon the report of *that* business. . . .

Very faithfully yours, MUNCASTER.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. H. LEGGE TO MR. ABBOT.

Irish Office, Nov. 10th, 1801.

Dear Abbot,— . . . . There is much talk here of strengthening the hands of Government, by calling some persons into office who are at present without employment. It is imagined by some people that Mr. Addington and Mr. Fox are *flirting* a little together, but of that I believe nothing. Mr. Tierney has

certainly left Opposition, as I am told, and expects to be employed in the East Indies. I think it very likely that places may be found for Lord Camden and Lord Castlereagh. All this is mere conversation, such as I occasionally pick up, and such as perhaps you have no objection to hear, unless you are better informed.

Yours ever most truly, H. L.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM LORD LIMERICK TO MR. ABBOT.

[Private.] Dorant's Hotel, Albemarle Street, Nov. 4th, 1801.

My dear Sir,— . . . His Majesty's Ministers were so good as to fix upon me to second the Address approving of the Peace: I did so, and I hope I did not disgrace myself, or lower that character which I know you stated to them.

The House sate till five this morning. The principal speakers were Lord Spencer, more able and impassioned than usual; Lord Grenville, one of the most impressive and powerful speeches I ever heard: he laboured to prove with considerable ingenuity that the terms obtained were perfectly inadequate to what, from our relative situation, we had a right to expect; that by them all the sources of our prosperity were laid at the feet of France, that from the peace we might date our ruin, as we were completely at the mercy of France, our ancient and inveterate rival, who had never kept faith with us one instant, when it was her interest to break it. The weak part of his speech was that its tendency obviously went to the impossibility of making peace on almost any terms with republican France.

He also broadly and distinctly stated that by the cession of the Cape, and by the establishment of the French at the mouth of the Amazon River, in time of war, we could not (from having no place to touch at) send a single battalion to the East Indies, as the men on their arrival would, from the length of the passage, be recruits for the hospital rather than for the country.

Lord Pelham spoke very ably and discreetly, particularly on the delicate subject of Portugal. The Chancellor spoke well and argumentatively. His speech, however, savoured strongly of the profession to which he belongs.

Believe me with great truth, your most faithful servant,

Limerick.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER OF LORD SHEFFIELD TO MR. ABBOT.

Whitehall, Nov. 11th, 1801.

My dear Sir,—

. . . . . .

We have had a very easy time compared to that of 1783. The discussion in both Houses was very satisfactory, and made more than usual impression. It seemed to prove that the comparative situation of this country is better, and that the predominancy of France is not so decisive nor threatening as has been imagined; on the first debate relative to the preliminaries, Lord Hawkesbury, Pitt, and Lord Castlereagh, were very able. Charles Fox was much inferior to what I have heard him. Very late, and after Addington had entirely given up all notion of speaking, he unnecessarily attended to the call of Lawrence, and being apprehensive that he could not take up the business fully, he was not at his ease; but the next night, in the report, he spoke admirably, with a good manner and in the best tone.

Yours very sincerely, SHEFFIELD.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER OF MR. H. LEGGE TO MR. ABBOT.

Irish Office, Dec. 14th, 1801.

Dear Abbot,— . . . . I hardly know what to believe upon the subject of changes in or additions to Administration. I cannot help thinking however that Grey will not come in; and I *almost* believe that Tierney would be Paymaster if the death or resignation of Lord Liverpool should so far set things afloat as to remove Mitford to the Rolls, and to place Lord Glenbervie in the Speaker's chair. I am sure that Lord Glenbervie would approve this arrangement, and I suspect it is his aim. Tierney is very much attended to by Mr. Addington, is much consulted on the subject of finance (as they say), and possesses the Minister's ear, into the which he frequently whispers in the House of Commons.

Yours most truly, H. LEGGE.

FROM MR. CORRY TO MR. ABBOT.

London, Dec. 19th, 1801.

. . . I am just returned from a walk of an hour with Addington. The mutiny* in the fleet gave great agitation; that was the sole object for extending the sitting to next Monday, as

* Vide infra, p. 395.

Hiley Addington told me yesterday. Thank God, all apprehension, and with it all necessity for Parliamentary interference, is past.

I talked over with Addington corn and distillery again, and pressed decision for all your matters yet in suspense; but, as Addington writes to-day to Lord Hardwicke, I need say nothing further just now.

Lord Castlereagh has had a long conversation with Addington on corn: he is just what might be wished. There is every appearance that the measure of the present period will be rather an extension of the limits for export from Ireland to Great Britain as to prices, than a free and open intercourse.

Yours very truly, ISAAC CORRY.

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER OF MR. H. LEGGE TO MR. ABBOT.

Irish Office, Dec. 19th, 1801.

Dear Abbot,— . . . There was a report yesterday of difficulties in the way of negotiation, arising from (it was said) a refusal on the part of the Spaniards to cede Trinidad. Lord Grenville, I was told, was in high spirits, and Wyndham, I am sure, looked merrier than usual. That noble Lord (Grenville) took great pains to persuade Lord Castlereagh to head an opposition in the House of Commons in concert with him in the House of Lords, which Lord Castlereagh at once refused. . .

Ever yours most sincerely, H. LEGGE.

LETTER FROM LORD HARDWICKE TO MR. ADDINGTON.

[Private and Confidential.]

Phœnix Park, Dec. 2nd, 1801.

My dear Sir,—As I am under the necessity of troubling you upon a subject which I understand has been recently brought under your consideration, I shall make no other reference to my former letter which was delivered to you by Colonel Littlehales, than to assure you that I have not been unreasonable enough to expect an acknowledgment of it during the continuance of your business in Parliament, in addition to every other.

The point to which I feel it necessary to call your immediate attention is the propriety of imposing upon the Privy Council in Ireland the consideration of the important question of a free corn trade between the two parts of the United Kingdom. I have great doubts how far the advantage which might be expected from such a mode of collecting information upon that

subject, would not be entirely counterbalanced by the inconveniences which might result from it. In the first place, it would certainly afford great temptation to those who might be expected to take a lead upon such questions, to convert the Privy Council into a theatre of debates; and party differences of opinion, upon a subject so peculiarly interesting to the City of Dublin as their supply of corn, might not only be attended with very unpleasant consequences, but prevent a free and impartial discussion upon its own merits.

The country in general (where potatoes are the common food), and the county members, would in all probability be favourable to a free intercourse in corn; but, in Dublin—where the people are greater consumers of bread, and where the inquiry must be carried on—the apprehensions would probably be that their interests would suffer, that English capital would inevitably carry their corn, that would otherwise remain for their own supply, and that, consequently, the price of bread would be raised to them. I rather think, too, that we should be cautious at present of establishing here any meeting for debate upon questions of greater interest and importance; for, if a precedent is now made in regard to the corn trade, it may be used in other instances, and would serve as an engine of influence and power, as well as a source of information upon similar subjects.

This is shortly the substance of what I really feel upon the question of inquiry before the Privy Council; but if, after all, you think upon reflection that no inconvenience will result from it, we shall be ready to undertake it in the best manner we are able; and there will be time to signify your wishes by a despatch from the Secretary of State's Office, which, if written a day or two after the arrival of this letter, will reach me in time to order an inquiry in the course of this month.

As I have not received from Lord Pelham any intimation of the wishes of Government in regard to an inquiry before the Privy Council, I have not written to him upon the subject, at present, and have merely submitted the above points for your consideration, in order that you may judge whether it may be advisable to carry on the inquiry here, or by a Committee of the House of Commons, where the county Members from all parts of the United Kingdom will have an opportunity of communicating their local information, and where all parties who are desirous of it may be heard upon the subject.

I remain, my dear Sir, yours most truly,

HARDWICKE.

The Right Hon. H. Addington.

LETTER FROM MR. CORRY TO MR. ABBOT.

London, Dec. 6th, 1801.

I have received your letters of the 28th and 30th. Yesterday Vansittart moved a Bill for prohibiting distilling from wheat in Ireland. Addington, resolved not to yield to the solicitations of those who wish further to suspend the distilling from grain beyond the 1st of January, wishes to throw in this measure for preserving the wheat of Ireland as a future resource in case of need, to satisfy them so far in their apprehensions. I objected to Parnell's proposal to add *oats* to the prohibitory Bill, meaning that no corn should be acted upon besides wheat, which assimilates to this country, till after due investigation. Enough on this point from time to time. You were to have had your despatches upon corn investigation sent off ten days ago.

Vansittart was very anxious, and Addington had decided with him, to give to the Lord-Lieutenant a power to permit the exportation of wheat, notwithstanding that the average price should be such as to prohibit export. To that I made strong objections, as going to a partial, sudden superseding of the corn system of Ireland without notice or investigation; and as being, for that reason, even though the measure were otherwise wise, highly objectionable. I was obliged to call on Addington, and I succeeded in my representations to him upon the point, so that it is not to be now introduced. I am sure that his Excellency and yourself will both join me in the more deliberate and more secure policy of the short delay, till investigation of the subject at large.

Since writing so far before I went out, I have received your letter on the Corn Committee of Council proposed in Ireland. I have also seen Lord Hardwicke's to Mr. Addington on the same subject of the same date, and I admit that there is great weight in the objections made to an investigation in Dublin. The true question is amongst the considerations on both sides, not which is totally unobjectionable, but which is least objectionable. I won't now proceed to say anything on the whole of it in addition to what I wrote to you on the 2nd of December, because I find by the date of Lord Hardwicke's, and of yours, viz. Nov. 28th, that mine was not then received when yours were written. I have, however, found opportunity on their arrival to press Mr. Addington to come to a decision; and he promises that

* The Right Hon. Isaac Corry, Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland.

in the course of a few days—within next week certainly—he will proceed upon it. He in the meantime desires me to acquaint His Excellency that no precipitate decision will be taken as to the mode of proceeding; and you may rely on his having every consideration on both sides fully brought before him.

I am sincerely grieved to acquaint you that poor Parnell*, who was debating with us last night, died this morning of an apoplexy.

Believe me always faithfully yours, ISAAC CORRY.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTER FROM MR. JACKSON TO MR. ABBOT.

London, Oct. 30th, 1801.

Dear Abbot,— . . . I am at this moment experiencing the good effects of your efforts in my favour. You supposed truly that the event of peace would put the diplomatists in motion. I had some hopes upon the subject, but I certainly could not anticipate the more than friendly manner in which Mr. Addington has behaved to me. I had no right to expect it, and with all the vanity and self-conceit that I can muster up upon the occasion, I conceive myself that it is to your partial representation that I am chiefly indebted for a treatment which, even if it produced no more substantial benefit than that of being thought of by such a man, would be inestimable.

It has been determined to send a Minister to Paris to reside there during the Congress at Amiens, and until Lord Whitworth's arrival, who is to be the Ambassadeur Représentant: and Mr. Addington, in terms which after what I have said I need not describe, made me the offer of this situation. I did not of course hesitate, and I am now waiting till Lord Cornwallis has obtained from Buonaparte the assurance that he will at the same time send a minister here. It has been suggested that I should go immediately and carry with me provisional letters of credence, but I hope and rather think that this will be given up, and that they will wait the return of a messenger from the Marquis, who sets off early on Monday morning. The truth is, that they do not know how to make out credentials to the Chief Consul, and between ourselves I have no great ambition to assist at the Fête of the Ninth.† I cannot forget the idea that a

* Sir John Parnell; father of Sir Henry Parnell, created Lord Congleton.

† The 9th of November was selected, as the anniversary of the Revolution of the 18th Brumaire, for the "Fête pour la paix générale." Lord Cornwallis was present, and was treated with especial distinction, his car-

Frenchman frequently conceals under an ostensible civility some implied insult. However, we are to give credit for much sincerity and good will. Buonaparte sent an amazingly civil message to Lord Cornwallis, desiring to see him before the Congress commenced; in consequence of which his Lordship will stay a few days at Paris, and return to Amiens. It is expected that the business will not last above a couple of months. It will be the first Congress that ever ended successfully in that time.

I give you the *dramatis personæ* as at present cast for the scenes that will be performed after the signature of the Definitive Treaty:—Lord Whitworth to Paris; Tierney, Secretary of the Embassy; Frere to Madrid as envoy,—there will be no Ambassador there; Lord R. Fitzgerald to Lisbon; Liston to the Hague; Wickham* to succeed Lord Carysfort at Berlin, who goes to St. Petersburg; Arbuthnot to Stockholm; Sir James Crawford to Copenhagen; Drummond to Constantinople; Drake to Naples; and Jackson to America. This, I believe, is the present intention, though nothing has been said to me by Mr. Addington or Lord Hawkesbury upon the latter appointment. You have of course heard of the pleasant jumble of parties which the peace has occasioned. I went yesterday to the House of Lords to hear Lord Grenville's reasons for opposing it, but he reserved them for Tuesday; and I had no other satisfaction than to hear a very good speech from Lord Lilford, who seconded the Address.

Wyndham is himself. There are few like unto him.

Ever most truly yours, F. J. JACKSON.

LETTERS FROM COLONEL LITTLEHALES.

[Private.] Paris, Nov. 21st, 1801.

My dear Sir,— . . . Lord Cornwallis will, in all probability, proceed to Amiens in five or six days†; but from some circum-

riage being the only one which was allowed to appear in the streets of Paris on that day. M. Thiers, who records this (Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire, iii. 191), adds that on the same day, at the feast at the Guildhall in London (the Lord Mayor's feast), which he mistakes for an entertainment especially intended to celebrate the peace, the guests drank with enthusiasm the toast "Au premier Consul Buonaparte, à la liberté, au bonheur de la République Française."

* Mr. Wickham, however, succeeded Mr. Abbot as Chief Secretary for Ireland; and Mr. Jackson succeeded Lord Carysfort at Berlin.

† On Lord Cornwallis's appointment as our plenipotentiary to conclude a permanent peace, see his Correspondence, iii. 385—488. Colonel Littlehale was acting as Lord Cornwallis's private secretary.

stances that have lately occurred, I am apprehensive that the final adjustment of his Lordship's important embassy will be longer than was supposed on his first arrival in this country. I shall, of course, hold myself in readiness to return to my post in Ireland, whenever His Excellency or you consider my services there to be necessary.

I have not yet been presented to the First Consul, nor has any person belonging to Lord Cornwallis's suite, but we have all received very marked attention from the Officers of the French Government, and also from the people in Paris of all descriptions, and we have dined with the several Ministers of this Government.

I went yesterday to see the session of the *Corps Legislatif* open; the members were all in grand costume, the ceremony had more the appearance of a military procession than a legislative body, and in many parts of the House sentinels with fixed bayonets were posted. I never saw a country possessing more of the semblance of liberty than France at present, and less of the reality. None of the Ministers scarcely ever appear without an escort, and Buonaparte, who goes seldom into public (except to the theatres), is never unescorted.

The spectacles are in general (at least three or four of them) brilliant and entertaining; and the public libraries and "cabinets" are extremely well stored and classed. The celebrated Oriental linguist L'Anglas, showed me some extraordinary manuscripts, amongst which was "Fenelon's Telemachus," and Le Sage very politely did the honours of the Cabinet de l'Ecole des Mines when Fox arrived. I am anxious to hear from Dublin, having written three letters to His Excellency.

. . . . . .

Very faithfully yours, G. B. LITTLEHALES.

[Private.] Paris, Nov. 29th, 1801.

My dear Sir,—The unexpected intention of the First Consul to proceed to Lyons, for the purpose, as it is generally understood, of uniting the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, will, in all probability, protract the formal proceedings of the negotiation of the Definitive Treaty; and as my returning to my duty in Ireland may, under such circumstances, be of more consequence than my remaining here, I propose, with the concurrence of Lord Cornwallis, to be in London about the 22nd of next month. . . . .

Yours most faithfully, G. B. LITTLEHALES.

EXTRACT FROM LETTER FROM MR. JACKSON TO MR. ABBOT.

Paris, Nov. 26th, 1801.

Dear Abbot, . . . The first part of your kind wish has been accomplished, for I got well to Paris amidst all the distinction that could be conferred by firing of cannon, guards of honour, escorts of cavalry, speeches from the municipalities, and (though last not least interesting) songs and bouquets from the women of the different towns through which I passed. There was nothing very extraordinary in all this, but the demonstrations of joy of the people at *Boulogne.** I slept there the first night, and found the town illuminated so generally, and with so much *empressement* of its inhabitants to welcome me, that it was evident it could not be an act of Government. I imagine that the feelings of happiness at their late escape added something to the brilliancy of their candlelights. . . . .

I shall have my audience in the course of next week, if his Corsican Majesty should be still in this metropolis, and disposed to honour the *corps diplomatique* with a sight of his dear person,—an honour which neither they nor any of his liege subjects are allowed to enjoy frequently.

That the world will shortly be surprised with a project which at present he supposes confined to his own bosom, and which perhaps might have remained there but for the inconvenient necessity of a great man employing agents for the purpose of conveying baggage, &c.;—this plan is to condescend to the wishes of the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, and to undertake to organise a form of government for them. For this purpose they are to send deputies to Lyons, whither Buonaparte will repair in person to enlighten them with his wisdom.

This is all we *know* of his intention; but it is strongly conjectured that he means to amalgamate the Cisalpine, the Ligurian, and Piedmont, and form a snug little sovereignty to which he might retire, either in case of necessity, or when fatigued with the care of governing this more extensive and more combustible republic. Whence the necessity and consequent wish of retirement may arise, whether from a plan, for which he has obtained credit with a few, of restoring the ancient dynasty, or from the apprehension of an impending storm, we cannot yet know. Certain it is that he is surrounded by enemies, and, as far as I can learn, he has not one friend; for

* Boulogne had been attacked by Nelson on August 15th, 1801.

even Berthier, who was the companion of his military exploits, and very instrumental to his different successes, is now alienated from him, and totters in his place. As for his other ministers and generals, he literally treats them like so many slaves, and employs them individually to answer some particular purpose, which once effected, they retire to their wonted distance, and wait in due submission another occasional nod to approach his presence.

So much for yourself. As for your lords and ladies I am afraid I shall not have anything very interesting for their eyes or very fit for their ears. A recital of the common occurrences of Paris being little more than an uninterrupted picture of vulgarity and profligacy. I can say this from the observation I have made in the ten days I have passed here, and still more safely from the report of those who have made a longer residence. There is no society but what you meet at the theatres or at great ministerial dinners; no *petits comités*. At the theatres it seems as if the one and two-shilling galleries, and the back rows of the front boxes were emptied into the best places in the house.

The great dinners at which I have assisted are a bad representation of a bad dinner in the great room at the London Tavern, or Crown and Anchor; only that in the latter the appearance of the waiters, as well as of the company, would be infinitely better than what we have here.

What do you think of Lord Cornwallis, with all his dignity of decorum, dining the other day at a table of thirty covers with the kept mistresses, and being obliged *ex officio*, to hand out the ugliest and frailest of them, because she was in keeping of the Minister for Foreign Affairs? I am going to dine to-day with Fouché de Nantes, the ingenious and humane inventor of the *Mariages Républicains*, under Robespierre. He is now Minister of Police.

You will judge, my dear friend, from this sort of tableau, how much we are under the necessity here of keeping our thoughts at home, and whether it is any comfort to find occasionally a safe depository for them.

On the other hand, we have many wonderful exhibitions of national magnificence and liberality; founded, in some instances, on national plunder. Of the latter the most striking are the galleries where they have placed the paintings brought from Italy, Flanders, Germany, and Holland, and the statues from the first of those countries; among which are the Laocoon and the Apollo Belvidere. They are open three days in every decade to the public, and six days exclusively to artists and to foreigners.

The scientific institutions are likewise upon a great scale, and well supported: but of this more by and by.

Yours affectionately attached, F. J. Jackson.

Paris, Dec. 23rd, 1801.

Dear Abbot,— . . . The difficulties of the present moment are not for individuals who, with a very common share of penetration, and that insight into the progress of foreign politics which an exclusive attention to the subject will afford, can but too well ascertain the tendency of what passes; they are for states and statesmen, whose business and whose interest it is to avert that tendency and its final result. It must be confessed that these difficulties are very great; and much as I was impressed, by my communications before I left England, with those which would have attended the continuation of the war, I now am at a loss to say whether they should have outweighed the considerations of the danger which at present surrounds us and the rest of Europe. This indeed is a mere matter of speculation; and, although I am irresistibly led to express such a doubt by the impulse of every sense and faculty I possess, yet there can be *no* doubt that we must now go on with the experiment, and prepare ourselves by economy and repose for the contest in which, ere it be very long, we must inevitably engage.

Without saying that France is intentionally working her way to universal sovereignty,— a pursuit which I trust we may still consider as chimerical,— I can assert that her politics were never more exclusively selfish than at the present moment. She acknowledges no law but her own will, and no will but such as increases her own influence and aggrandisement at the expense of her neighbours. It appears perhaps more wonderful to me, who have had so many occasions of observing the sturdy pride of the Germans, and the haughtiness of the Autocratical empire, to see them now reduced to a suppliant posture before the Great Nation. The demeanour of their ministers is an exact type of their own submission and dependence. Many of the *corps diplomatique* are nothing more than tools of the French Government; there is not one of them that dare encounter the disgrace of the First Consul, or look his minister full in the face. Lucchesini* put his finger in his eye and cried, but did not venture to pout, because Buonaparte took offence at something he had done, and reproached him at a public audience. His colleagues had the weakness to laugh at him as a naughty boy;

* He was the Prussian Ambassador at Paris.

and he, poor fellow, has been obliged to endeavour to make amends for his fault by the most assiduous and servile attentions to Talleyrand's mistress. Judge what a set I should have to act with, if it were not that I find I have nothing for it but to stand firm on my own ground. Thank God, it is yet an exalted station, and I can look at and pity them at a distance.

The plan of which I gave you the earliest intimation in my last letter, which is now officially announced to the public, is on the point of being carried into execution. In my next I may be able to tell you in what precise way this is done, though it is immaterial how that is brought about, which we know to be the ultimate object of the whole proceeding, viz. the subjection to the dominion of Buonaparte of Piedmont, the Milanese, Genoa, part of the ex-Venetian territories, the Bailiage of Switzerland, and the Romish Legation. The most plausible idea that I have yet heard, is that which I before mentioned to you, of Buonaparte's keeping this, no matter under what present form of government, as a snug retreat for himself. In the meantime, he feeds an army in these different provinces, which may one day be sufficiently alienated from its native country to obey him exclusively; a means which has always been wanting to the different heads of parties which the country has seen during the Revolution. By that mean he would be enabled to make himself respected, or at least feared on every side; and to support or control any party in the interior of France itself. You will see the outline of the Cisalpine Consulta, and its intended operations in the *Moniteur* of the 21st, a most famous *pot pourri* they will have at Lyons.

At no other period, as I presume, in the history of Europe, would such a transaction have been seen with indifference and inactivity by other powers. After what I have said above, this is no longer a subject of surprise. They think here little more of the interference of Austria than of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. The other day only, before the Court of Vienna had given way upon the business of the elections at Cologne, and Munster, Moreau, who is the most moderate, as well as the most able, and in every way the most respectable of their Generals, talked of a *Promenade à Vienne*, as you would of a ride through the Phœnix Park; and there is but too much reason to think he would have performed it with nearly the same ease.

It is fortunate for us that these dispositions in and out of France, are attended with such circumstances as may perhaps check their powers of exertion abroad. I don't know that we

shall be ultimately benefited by any changes that can take place, but at least, in the confusion they will create here, we shall have a little breathing time.

Buonaparte's enemies increase daily in number: and the attempts to cover the despotism of his government under the sanction of Senates, Tribunales, Legislative Bodies, &c., occasion only fresh instances of mortification to him. The proceedings of these different bodies are of late become somewhat interesting; and worthy of attention by the opposition which they display to the measures of the Court.

Besides this, there are parties formed amongst different classes of people, which sooner or later must bring about the overthrow of the present order of things. *Do not be surprised if you hear of this happening at an early period.*

The First Consul sets out in five or six days for Lyons. Two of his ministers precede him.

Your old friends the Swiss are not better treated than their neighbours. This Government has just caused the Valais to be occupied, but will shortly restore it on condition of keeping a military road into Italy, along the left bank of the Rhone. The new Government there established by the Revolution of the 28th October last is to be acknowledged; and the Swiss are endeavouring to persuade the other powers to acknowledge their Government also, that it may thereby become a little more independent of France.

You see the whole navy of France has sailed for the West Indies, with no less than 30,000 men on board; probably the number is much greater. This is a serious consideration, and the precautions which we are forced to take are expensive.

I understand that a stout resistance will be made at St. Domingo. Toussaint L'Ouverture has 15,000 regulars, and three times that number of armed irregulars, under his command. Should the attempt upon him fail, the French armament must be turned to some other account; and it is only another proof of the same spirit of aggrandisement which I have before mentioned, to tell you that Spain has lately ceded to France, as the price of the establishment of the King of Etruria, Louisiana, and the two Floridas, together with six sail of line-of-battle ships.

I need hardly add to this long epistle by saying that the whole of it is only for the perusal of you and yours. *Salut, et haute considération.*

F. S. J.

Paris, Feb. 2nd, 1802.

My dear Abbot,—. . . . You are of course looking, as we are here, to the result of the transactions at Amiens; it is indeed time that you should be satisfied, and that we should be really at peace. If we are successful in our endeavours to remain in that state any length of time, it is, I think, more than the rest of Europe can expect.

You have in the newspapers the proceedings at Lyons fully detailed, and can make better observations on them than any I can offer; those I do make are not of a very pleasant nature. Let me caution you, however, against believing that everything passed with such perfect unanimity as people here would willingly persuade you. The Cisalpines wished for a governor from amongst themselves, and would have named M. de Melzi, their present Vice President; but Buonaparte has a large army in the country, and they must needs obey him.

The citizens of the Italian republic are neither flattered nor pleased. The inhabitants of the rest of Italy are alarmed; and those amongst the French who think that they might find enough to do in healing the deep wounds which their country has suffered, look upon this as a bad prognostic of the peaceful reign of their present sovereign.

I believe when I last wrote to you the operation of straining the representation of the French people through a consular sieve had not begun. Buonaparte was annoyed with the opposition he met with in the Tribunate of the *Corps Legislatif*, and sent a message to the Senate to proceed *aux termes de la Constitution* to *eliminer* those two bodies; that is, to re-elect them, with the exception of the persons marked upon his *black list*, and who are thus to cease their functions. This seems almost ludicrous, but it is perfectly true. When this "Old Inn new revived" is opened, he will proceed with his *Code Civile*, and publication of the *Concordatum*, on which most of the Clergy of every rank who have resigned will be reinstated. This will happen March 22nd.

I am extremely glad to hear that you have been so quiet in Ireland; and only wish you would extend the efforts of your police to keeping at home a parcel of disorderly women, who come abroad without bringing anything with them that does credit to the national character. There is Lady C——, who is one day taken up by the Police, and carried to the Bureau Central, for persisting to drive in the Champs Elysées at forbidden hours and through forbidden roads: another day she quarrels with people

at the Masquerade; a third, she invites a dozen French men and women to her house, and abuses them all for slaves.

Then we have Lady M——, whose dear friend is H. M. Williams *, and who gets into all the bad company at Paris; you must suppose it is very bad, when here it is reckoned *mauvais ton.*

You really should keep these people at home. As for your swindlers, of whom there has been a nest here for some time, they are not near so troublesome or so disgraceful, for there are swindlers in all countries; and the police here is very good.

Most truly yours, F. S. JACKSON.

[Private.] Paris, March 15th, 1802.

My dear Abbot,— . . . . I have been long wishing to write to you at some length, and had intended to do so this day; but I am now obliged to send off my messenger in a hurry with the horrid account just received of the beginning of the expedition to St. Domingo.

You will very shortly see in print the substance of the despatches of the French general and admiral, which tell us that the town of the Cape † was fired by the blacks on the approach of the French fleet. I question if we shall know, even when the private letters are delivered, the extent of the mischief and havock that must have ensued: but I know that there was not, when the despatches came away, a single house left in a fit state to receive Madame Leclerc and her family, who were on that account obliged to remain on board ship. (You know this lady is Buonaparte's sister, and was sent upon this expedition by her brother, in consequence of her having been found in rather an awkward situation with La Fond, an actor *de la Comedie Française.*) There is too much reason to apprehend that Port au Prince has also been destroyed, and that much blood must be shed before the French will gain even a partial possession of the island. Their loss, although they say little of it, must already have been considerable. . . . . I send you by this messenger a copy of the intercepted papers so nobly delivered over by his Russian majesty to this Government, in which many great names, and among the rest your friend Wickham ‡, make a conspicuous appearance. They are published

* Miss Helen Williams; a political writer of republican principles and bad reputation.

† The town Cape Français, then the capital of the island.

‡ Mr. Wickham had been our minister in Switzerland during the campaigns of Suvaroff.

at this time only to answer the purpose of making Buonaparte believe that he is still more than he really is dependent on his Minister of Police, the famous Fouché de Nantes, of Noyades celebrity. Most truly yours, F. J. JACKSON.

Letters relating to the Mutiny in Bantry Bay.

FROM LORD GARDNER TO MR. ABBOT.

[Secret.] "Princess Charlotte," Cork Harbour, Dec. 9th, 1801.

Sir, — Having received a despatch at eight o'clock yesterday evening, of a serious nature, from Vice-Admiral Sir Andrew Mitchell, commanding a division of His Majesty's ships of the Channel Fleet at Bearhaven, dated the 7th instant, I consider it my duty to transmit to you copies thereof, and its enclosures, Nos. 1, 2, 3, which I am to desire you will please to lay before His Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant for his immediate information.

The officer entrusted with Sir Andrew Mitchell's despatches for the Admiralty, arrived at Cork at five o'clock P.M. yesterday; and by setting off immediately for Waterford, he was in hopes of arriving there in time to proceed in the packet which will sail thence this day for England. He therefore very properly sent my despatches by a dragoon to Cork.

I am exceedingly concerned at the spirit of mutiny and disobedience which has shown itself in two of the large ships, the "Temeraire," and "Formidable." And from Sir Andrew Mitchell's letter, I very much fear it will spread to others of His Majesty's ships. Their conduct is in the highest degree criminal, and, if they are not speedily brought to a sense of their error, there must be an end to all naval discipline and good order. I have expressed a hope to Sir Andrew Mitchell, that with the assistance of the officers of every description under his command, and the reasoning of the orderly and well-disposed part of the crews of the different ships, he will be able to check the mutiny which has broken forth, and to bring these deluded men to a proper sense of their duty.

I have also acquainted him, that I should communicate his despatch to me to his Excellency the Lord-Lieutenant, that Government may have timely notice, and be prepared in the event of its being judged necessary to order any troops into the neighbourhood of Bearhaven.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient and humble servant, GARDNER.

Enclosure No. 1.

FROM VICE-ADMIRAL SIR ANDREW MITCHELL TO ADMIRAL LORD GARDNER.

[Secret.] "Windsor Castle," Bearhaven, Dec. 7th, 1801.

My Lord, — Since the arrival of the last secret despatches from the Admiralty to me of the 18th ultimo, by the Admiralty messenger, who waited on you at Cork on his return, at that moment I had nothing to communicate. But now I have the very great mortification to state to your Lordship the unexpected conduct of the crews of His Majesty's ships named in the margin, who were ordered to complete to five months' provisions and stores. They are determined not to lift their anchors from this haven, without being acquainted where they are going; and nowhere will they move but to England.

Temeraire, Formidable.

Enclosed, your Lordship will receive *copies* of the letters I received from Rear-Admiral Campbell, stating to me what has been done by him and Captain Grindall, with the conduct of their ships' companies.

The companies of the "Majestic" and "Vengeance" have not yet taken an active part in this resolution not to sail except to England; but Captains Gould and Duff informed me, they are assured from appearances and their own observations, and other circumstances, that their crews are equally engaged in it.

I have thought it necessary (with the opinions of the Admirals here) to send express to the Admiralty with this unpleasant information. I shall leave your Lordship to judge how anxiously I shall wait for instructions from their Lordships for my further proceedings. I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

A. Mitchell.

No. 2.

FROM REAR-ADMIRAL CAMPBELL TO SIR A. MITCHELL.

"Temeraire," in Bearhaven, Dec. 6th, 1801.

Sir, — I beg leave to inform you, that shortly after the sails were bent, the major part of the ship's company of H. M. S. "Temeraire" were heard cheering on the lower deck: lowered the ports, and were in the act of barring them in, when Lieutenants Douglas and Brown immediately went amongst them, when the ship's company exclaimed, "We will fight for our King and

country as long as the war lasts, but we will not start an anchor except for England," and proceeded to unship the ladders. The hands were then turned up, but it was sometime before they came aft, except a small part of the crew which were in the middle deck, who came up quickly, immediately they were called. Upon the First Lieutenant telling the rest it was the Admiral's wish they should come on deck, they said, "they had been aft, and wanted to go to England," but they came aft slowly. I then asked them what was the cause of their making that disturbance below; their answer was, "they understood the squadron going to sea was bound for the West Indies, and it was the ship's company's determination not to start an anchor except for England." I told them it was impossible for me to tell them where they were going, and asked if they at any former period ever were told where they were going; but they still persisted in what they had before said, relative to their not starting the anchor. I then asked if they could state any grievance, and whether the greatest attention was not paid to their comforts in every respect. They replied, "Grievance we have none; in that we are well satisfied."

I then pointed out to them that we could not yet call it peace, and that our service was still required. I told them the time was near at hand for going to sea, and that I expected they would readily unmoor the ship (or words to that effect), and made use of other language to enforce obedience. They instantly cried out, "No, no, no; they would go to England." Captain Eyles as well as myself was witness to the whole of these proceedings, and I am under the painful necessity of saying that it is his as well as my own opinion that they will not proceed to sea but for England.

Herewith I beg leave to transmit to you a letter from Captain Grindall, stating to me that the "Formidable's" ship's company are in the same state, and also beg leave to remind you of what Captain Gould said in your cabin this morning. Under these circumstances I have to request your advice for my further proceedings. Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant,

GEORGE CAMPBELL.

To Sir Andrew Mitchell, K.B.,
Vice-Admiral of the White, &c. &c.

No. 3.

FROM CAPTAIN EYLES TO ADMIRAL CAMPBELL [APPARENTLY ENCLOSED IN THE PRECEDING.]

"Temeraire," Bearhaven, Dec. 5th, 1801.

Sir,—I beg leave to state to you that a boat from His Majesty's ship "Formidable," with an officer on service, came on board this ship about eleven o'clock A.M., that in less than five minutes afterwards I went upon deck to receive Captain Duff, when I perceived a body of men collecting fast upon the forecastle.

The officer of the watch, Lieutenant Gore, said, "I believe, Sir, there is something going on amongst the people." I replied that I thought so too. When I was going to announce Captain Duff to the Admiral, he said, "they are coming aft." I answered, I would be up instantly; and I took this opportunity, when below, to name the circumstance to the Admiral. I then went upon deck, when I saw the major part of the ship's crew of seamen speaking to Lieutenant Douglas, First Lieutenant and officer of the watch. I requested to know what they were come aft for, and what it was they wanted. Alexander Bruce, Quartermaster, and John Snowden, Gunner's mate, and James Ward, Captain of the forecastle, appeared before the body of men, saying they were called upon deck, and hustled aft by them to say "that the ship's company wanted to know where the ship was going, and that they would not start an anchor but to go to England." I said, I did not know where she was going, but that I expected orders would be obeyed as usual, and desired they would go quietly below again.

I now observed, Sir, you were coming upon deck, when you requested me to inform you what was the matter; I said, they, viz. the crew, wanted to know where the ship was going, when the Admiral asked them, "Did you ever know where you were going, or make a request of that sort before." They said, "No, but it is now peace." When the Admiral replied, "We do not know it is peace, nor can I tell you where we are going;" when the Admiral and myself ordered them quietly below, which was done. I now asked Lieutenant Fricker of the "Formidable" if anything of this kind had taken place on board that ship. He said, there had been men aft to speak to the Captain to ask where they were going.

I have understood since from good authority, that the men do not intend to weigh anchor until they know whether the ship is going to England or not. And that they have whispered

fore and aft, that if anybody should get drunk before the business is settled, they will be severely cobbed.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant, THOMAS EYLES.

To George Campbell, Esq.,
Rear-Admiral of the Blue, &c.

No. 4.

FROM CAPTAIN GRINDALL OF THE "FORMIDABLE" TO ADMIRAL CAMPBELL.

[Gives nearly the same account of the proceedings on board that ship.]

DRAFT OF A DESPATCH FROM MR. ABBOT TO LORD PELHAM, ON THE MILITIA.

Dublin Castle, Jan. 1802.

My Lord, — Having in my letters of the —— and —— acquainted your Lordship with the extent of the reductions which may be expected to take place in the Militia of Ireland upon the conclusive of a definitive treaty of peace; and having also stated the very short periods for which the remainder of the Militia is liable to serve after such a treaty; and that even these periods do not appear by the returns to be very clearly ascertained; I shall, accordingly to the desire expressed by your Lordship of the ——, proceed to offer to your Lordship such observations as appear to me very necessary for the consideration of His Majesty's Ministers in determining the future peace establishment of this country, so far as regards the Militia.

Having conferred with the Commander of the Forces and several general officers upon the establishment with respect to the military resources of Ireland, in furnishing them for the defence of the Empire, I find it to be their concurrent opinion, that as the regular forces are the most economically raised and maintained, and the most useful for service, it would be most desirable in a military point of view to recruit in Ireland for the line, without raising any Militia whatever.

In England, however, and in Scotland, there is at present an establishment of Militia, and, for the sake of the constitutional precedent, it may be desirable to preserve a similar description of force in Ireland; in favour of which there are some circumstances well deserving of attention; although there are others also which may appear to preponderate, unless means

can be devised to obviate the consequences to which they might ultimately lead.

In favour of maintaining a Militia in Ireland, it is no unimportant consideration that it intends to induce many of the leading country gentlemen to look to the Crown for favour, and that the desire of obtaining the honour and emoluments belonging to the command of these regiments naturally inclines them to give a local support to the King's Government.

This institution has also the advantage of bringing the gentry of Ireland into more intimate connection with the lower classes of their countrymen, and creating a reciprocal good will between them, from the continual experience of protection on the one part and fidelity on the other; it has also the effect of bringing together the Protestants and Catholics more closely; so that by serving together their religious animosities abate, and their minds and habits also become gradually blended and assimilated.

On the other hand, it is impossible not to entertain some apprehension from the danger of arming so large a body of the people where the large proportion of Catholics is so considerable, and their sentiments and actions have been too frequently in hostility to British connection and Government.

To retain the service of so great a military force, and to obviate any of these mischievous consequences, the only course which has occurred to me as desirable would be to establish, if it could be accomplished, an interchangeableness of the Militia, to be raised in every part of the United Kingdom. (The Irish have at all times been reputed to be bad soldiers at home and excellent abroad.) And with regard to Ireland itself, it appears to me that the political benefits of this measure ought to outweigh all other considerations; thoroughly persuaded as I am that such an intercourse, by bringing the inhabitants of different parts of the United Kingdom into closer acquaintance, with their respective habits and manners, would go further towards cementing the connection of both countries, and improving the habits of the lower classes of the less civilised country, than any other measure which could be carried into execution.

If with a view to this great political object it should be thought upon the whole advisable to maintain a Militia in Ireland, many points will nevertheless remain to be considered, arising from the peculiar mode in which it is now constructed, which differs essentially from that of England.

. . . . . .

Lastly, it will be for the consideration of His Majesty's Ministers whether it will not be necessary for giving effect to any such plan that proper depôts should be provided in each country, or in certain places of safety, for collecting and preserving the arms of the Militia (as well as of the Yeomanry) during peace. And also that a permanent law should be passed, either empowering the King to move the Militia of either country into the other at his own pleasure during war; or at least to enable him in such times to accept the voluntary offer for this purpose, without the necessity of waiting for the special sanction of Parliament.

These observations I have thought it my duty to communicate to your Lordship in order that this important subject may receive the fullest consideration of His Majesty's Ministers; and as circumstances may possibly bring the present Militia to an end at no very great distance of time, it is very desirable for the interest of His Majesty's affairs in this country that it may receive an early determination.

I have the honour, &c. CHAS. ABBOT.

A PAPER FORWARDED BY MR. LINDSAY TO MR. ABBOT.

Not knowing what plan, or if any, is to be pursued upon the religious state of Ireland, little can be suggested. Two points exclusive of any general principles of policy demand attention.

1. With respect to the students at Maynooth.

2. With respect to country schoolmasters.

1. Out of any number of boys or young men educated for the priesthood, not above one-fifth actually will submit to the duties of holy orders.

If this position be true in the ratio asserted, out of every hundred youths educated for the priesthood at Maynooth only ten* become priests, and ninety persons taken from the lower classes of life obtain an education at the public expense which unfits them for the duties of their natural walk of life; gives them neither profession nor employment to follow, and they are then turned loose upon the world without occupation, and therefore liable to be discontented.

This class of persons which was of course found in the Irish colleges abroad, formerly refusing to become priests from inclination, or prohibited from ordination by their ill-behaviour, sought

* There is evidently some mistake here, as *one-fifth* would be equivalent to twenty in a hundred, not to ten.

bread for themselves by becoming country schoolmasters; and almost all the country schoolmasters of the Popish religion in Ireland were educated originally for priests. It has been observed that this body of men has been remarkably seditious and promotive of rebellion in all parts of the country.

In the repeal of the Popery Code the power of the state over Popish schoolmasters has been repealed, and they are not subject to any license.

Some regulation ought to be proposed as to the College of Maynooth; possibly the following:—

1. That each boy on entering the College should give security that if he does not take orders after so many years' residence he shall pay such a sum for his education.

2. That no person removed from the College for ill conduct, or for that reason prohibited from ordination, shall be allowed to keep a school.

3. That no Popish schoolmaster shall be allowed to teach in school without a certificate as to his morals and principles from the Catholic priest and Catholic bishop of his parish and diocese.

Query. Should *our* ordinaries have the power of suspension?

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM MR. ABBOT TO MR. YORKE.

[Private] Phœnix Park, Jan. 21st, 1802.

Dear Yorke,— . . This part of the United Kingdom is much altered since Lord Hardwicke arrived here. War and rebellion were extinguished together by the preliminaries with France; and our thoughts of military affairs have been confined to the more pleasant speculations of reduction. Before Littlehales's arrival we had taken some important steps; and he is rapidly proceeding, so far as yet is prudent, to place our expenditure for military purposes upon its intended peace establishment. . . . .

Before the war finished we had not been inattentive to the Civil Department of the State; and, considering the strife necessary to be maintained with the ill-willed and the corrupt, we have upon the whole, I think, obtained a fair support from the general opinion of the public. Our calumniators are now fallen back, and the rest of our course, so long as we are allowed to have any, will be unresisted and approved. Of the two famous tyrants, if a free country could be said to have any, whom the Irish have idolised, we have too much cause to impute to the one an insolent and illiberal opposition, not sustained even by

an open avowal to us of the hostility which he boasted of to his sycophants and news-gatherers. I am unfortunately furnished with too many proofs of his very discreditable conduct; but at present he is not very likely to annoy us much more, unless his medical assistants are much deceived. Truly it is a great pity that, with extraordinary talents and eminent services, there should be much to blame and ridicule in the same character.

Of the other great lord, or rather commoner *, we have seen little; not from our faults, for civilities numberless were proffered; but he doubted our stability, and affected to think we declined his advice and assistance, and never came near us, though frequently in Dublin. At length, however, I have had a full and apparently amicable conference with him on all the leading Irish topics; Corn Trade, Linen Trade, Farming Society, Mines, Fisheries, Navigation, Exchange, Poor Laws, &c. His countrymen, however, give him so much credit for craft and tergiversation that it will require the large stage of an united Parliament to liberalise his manners; civility he is most unquestionably well entitled to; but I much doubt whether he will repay confidence in sterling gold.

Our financial matters are, I think, on a good foundation. Some of the subordinate branches have been completely settled, and I think very satisfactorily. The Board of Works, which is of no moment but as it is before the eyes of every man, has been a salutary model of improved regulation; and the persecuted saint, Lord Tyrawley, (who certainly would not join in the ancient prayer of having a glass window in his bosom,) has concluded his vindication of that department by acknowledging a debt of 37,000*l.* upon a service of which the usual estimated grant has hitherto been from 25,000*l.* to 32,000*l.*, and no bills have been settled for many years. . . . . .

The Stamp Revenue has been placed, I trust, upon a solid foundation. Like ours in England it had grown up from small beginnings, and had never been attended to. Of this you may judge when I tell you no distributor in Ireland kept an account of the *sorts* of duties for which he sold his stamps. Evasion, peculation, and insolvency have naturally been the characteristics of this department.

The great department of revenue in Ireland is that which is emphatically called the Revenue Board; viz. Customs, Excise, Assessed Taxes, Hearth Money, &c. &c. What was wanting here you will best judge by hearing that each individual of the four senior commissioners dictated to me the state of his department,

* Foster.

whilst I took it down in his presence in my own apartment, within a month of my arrival, by describing it as a Board composed of ignorance, partiality, conniving at frauds in every subordinate office; and that the Board itself, by its relaxed system of conduct, rendered all other evils incurable. Old Beresford, who was the first to relate this singular narrative, has certainly had much merit in tracing out some of the frauds, and bringing forward meritorious officers, capable, if supported, of correcting or preventing them. But he acknowledged that he had not obtained obedience to the orders which he had prevailed on the Board to issue; and the subsequent production of papers, accounts, reports, &c., which have progressively come before me, established these facts to an extent which an Englishman would think incredible.

. . . . . .

As to public bodies I have reason to know that we stand well with the Corporation of Dublin, the University, the bench of Judges, and (except for the pending business of Kilmore) extremely well in the opinion of the Church. You see that I have trusted much to the interest you must take in every circumstance connected with Lord Hardwicke's administration; and that I have troubled you to a length which would otherwise be inexcusable. It may happen, however, that in the hurry of business, on my first return to London, you may not have time for this sort of detailed intelligence by conversation, and therefore it is that I give you this previous notice of the main points of our situation.

Ever yours, CHARLES ABBOT.

LETTER FROM THE BISHOP OF MEATH TO MR. ABBOT.

Ardbraccan House, March 8th, 1802.

Dear Sir,— . . . I went to town [Dublin] the week before last, to assist at the Board of First Fruits, and much as I was grieved to find everything going on in the old way, without the least appearance of any expectation or thought of change, you are prepared to hear that the Primate was not there. The Archbishop of Dublin presided, and gave in his accounts. After stating the amount of the sum he had laid out in the purchase of debentures, according to the order of the last year, and of the grants then made, it appeared that he had a balance in his hand this year of 31,222*l.* We examined vouchers, we signed

accounts, grants were made for 2,750*l.* for this diocese, and of about 500*l.* for the rest. Some applications from me and other bishops were refused as barred by the present regulations of the Board, and there the business ended.

Not a question was asked as to the general state of the fund, nor any inquiry or regulation made respecting the application of the large balance that still appeared to be in hand.

I inspected the general statement as prepared by Mr. Burgh in case it should be called for, and I shall give you a faithful abstract of the round sums as they stood on Jan. 5th, 1802.

Balance in hand of Parliamentary Grants	£15,361
„ on Primate Boulter's Fund	13,404
„ on First Fruits	2,457
Total Balance	31,222

State of the Capital.

Productive Stock in the different funds	70,699
Balance this year	31,222
Gross total of Capital	101,921
Of the productive Stock 12,600*l.* is in Bank Stock, which is now selling at 180*l.*, and therefore would, if sold, admit an increase of	10,080
	101,921
Making in all . .	112,001

This amount was drawn out before the 18,000*l.* of the compensation money was paid in; and that sum formed no part of it. So that when the 45,000*l.* for the three Ecclesiastical Boroughs is added to the account, the gross capital the Board may possess will be 157,000*l.*, and the balance now in hand, adding the 18,000*l.* received, is 49,222*l.*

What might not be done with such a fund, and the usual annual Parliamentary grant towards all the purposes of the Board of First Fruits in this country! How speedily might we obtain from it a general residence for the Clergy, places of worship wherever they are wanting or falling into decay, and even, in process of time, the increase of such livings as are not adequate to the support of a minister! The plan which I proposed for that purpose, counting on this capital, was founded on the sketch of a bill to be brought into Parliament by Mr. Foster, which he showed me some years ago. The greatness of the fund would render some things in that sketch unnecessary, and particularly the exchanging of tithes for lands, which I agree with all the Bishops, would be a very dangerous measure.

Having now other cares to occupy your thoughts, and engross

your attention, you may think it hard that I should break in upon you with Irish grievances. But besides that I feel myself bound to do everything that my conscience suggests to me on this subject, as likely to be of any use, I conceive of you and others who have gone before you, as I do of those blessed spirits who have winged their way into a better region, and a happier planet, but still feel interested in the destinies of those less favoured beings whom they have left behind them.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c., dear Sir,
Your most obliged and faithful servant, J. L. MEATH.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. MAXWELL BLACKER TO MR. ABBOT.

Dublin, May 27th, 1802.

My dear Sir,— . . . . . Everything in this country proceeds smoothly and quietly. Plenty abounds; yet the scarcity of past times lives in the recollection of the husbandman, and excites his industry. The tradesmen alone in the metropolis and other great towns, unmindful of the past, and ungrateful for the present, have turned out *en masse* for higher wages; and finding an easy subsistence in the abundance of the season, refuse to return to their former employment and accustomed wages. The rage for farming still prevails amongst our gentry; and the price of lands throughout the country rises again. Lord and Lady Hardwicke preserve their popularity in all ranks of society. Adieu, my dear Sir.

Your much obliged, MAXWELL BLACKER.

EXTRACTS FROM LETTERS FROM LORD REDESDALE TO MR. ABBOT.

Cork Abbey, Aug. 15th, 1802.

My dear Sir,— . . . . . Since I have been in this* country I have had more and more reason to applaud your conduct in it, and to be persuaded that it is to be governed for some years to come only by a strong hand and a reforming spirit. The injury which the last job has done us in point of reputation is incalculable. Lord Castlereagh's ideas of making men "amiable" must be forgotten. If this country is to be kept, it is to be by other politics. I believe it to be generally true in

* Lord Redesdale had been appointed Chancellor of Ireland on the death of Lord Clare, at the beginning of this year.

the government of a country that "corruption wins not more than honesty."

But in this country I am persuaded that the maxim which Shakspeare puts in the mouth of a fallen statesman ought most religiously to be adhered to. The *good* they expect from the Union is the destruction of that corruption which they are aware has ruined their country; and they are as much disposed to submit to the privations which the destruction of corruption may impose on individuals, as the French are disposed to submit to despotism in remembrance of all their sufferings from revolutionary governments. Every job weighs against the Union; everything which shows a disposition to put an end to job weighs for it. There seems to be but one voice on this subject with persons who consider this as their country, and who are not of the remnant of jobbers. They detest the idea of making men "amiable;" and above all things they detest it where the administration of justice is to be sacrificed. They feel that justice has not been administered in Ireland as it has been in England, and that a reform there is the first step to every other reform. A Lord-Lieutenant—an English Lord-Lieutenant—an English Primate, indeed English Bishops generally, and an English Chancellor, they consider as essential to the reform they wish for, and they think that in every department Englishmen are more likely to do them justice than Irishmen. Even the tenants prefer an English to an Irish steward. . . . . In fine, if Ireland be not governed for some years on the principle on which the French are at this moment governed, only with a more honest spirit, and a desire of making them really a free and happy people, I know not what dangers may not be apprehended. The rebellion was a Roman Catholic rebellion, a Papistical rebellion, a Presbyterian rebellion, &c. &c.; that is, religious principles were used to make the ferment more violent, but Jacobinism was the leaven which worked the whole, and that spirit, I am sorry to say, is still prevalent, though it seldom walks abroad. In this country it is at present much kept under, but it is slumbering only to watch the opportunity for wakefulness and activity, and instead of decreasing it is manifestly increasing amongst one description of men, or rather *two*—the Papists and the Roman Catholics, as they are called to distinguish them. The principles which distinguish the Roman Catholics from the Papists have a tendency to Jacobinism, good as they are in themselves; and I have had occasion to mark this in England as well as here. The adoption of Jacobinical principles by the Papists is more extraordinary, but it is not the

less true, and it is the more dangerous. The Jacobites were led by opposition to Whig Ministers to adopt principles from the highflying Whigs, because they were useful for the purposes of opposition, but they used them most mischievously for the country, and produced by them some of the greatest misfortunes which befell it during the reigns of the two first princes of the House of Hanover.

I have said that this country must be kept for some time as a garrisoned country. I meant a Protestant garrison. Whether that is to be the case I cannot say. . . . . Dr. Priestley contemplated with delight the imagined fall of some of the lofty pinnacles of the Church, which he considered as tottering from their foundations; and he means to overturn them from their foundations. Dr. Troy, and gentlemen of the same description, have no objection to a little tumbling of pinnacles, and would even consent to total subversion rather than that the edifice should remain in the hands of the present occupiers; but they would rather walk into the vacant building and take places on the empty thrones and states; and their hopes already tend to that point. The first step to this is to give them a foretaste,—to let them lick blood; we are to treat them as our foolish Saxon ancestors treated the Danes,—bribe them to leave us alone. If we should be guilty of such folly, we shall find, as our Saxon ancestors did, that we give encouragement to new depredations, to more formidable invasion, and finally to conquest and subjection. Can we make this country Catholic, as Scotland is Presbyterian? If we can, the country may be safe. Can we have a Concordat? If we can, the country may be safe; but any *half measure* must destroy it. England was as happy under Canute as under Ethelred or Edward the Confessor; but it was because Canute had the government. It suffered from the Norman Conquest, but it flourished under the Norman government. If Ministers should have the boldness to take the first step they ought to dare to go further; and a Concordat will perhaps be the only means of safety. . . . . .

Yours very truly, REDESDALE.

Ely Place, Dublin, Nov. 19th, 1802.

My dear Sir,— . . . . . I am daily more and more convinced that the most important measure to be pursued instantly and without relaxation is to make the country Protestant, and I am persuaded it may be done. Much pains have been taken to make the gentry Protestants, and with success.

Comparatively speaking the gentry of Ireland are Protestants, or profess to be Protestants. *No pains have been taken to make the peasantry Protestants*, and scarcely an Irish Protestant is to be found among men of that class. I think if the same means had been used to diffuse the reformation amongst the peasantry as amongst the gentry, the effect would have been the same. Having failed in making the peasantry Protestant, because no pains have been taken for the purpose, it seems now resolved to make the whole population Papists, by taking the very measures which ought long ago to have been taken to make the peasantry Protestants. By making every part of the country comfortable to Papists, and uncomfortable to Protestants: by giving to Papists every facility for the exercise of their religion — every facility in religious education, every advantage derived from the residence and respectability of an established clergy, and taking no measures for giving the same advantage to Protestants. In the greater part of Ireland a Protestant peasant cannot reside and remain a Protestant. In every part of Ireland a Popish peasant is assisted and encouraged, as well as protected. In fine, I am persuaded that if the eyes of men are not to be opened on this head, and quickly, Ireland must be separated from England; or united to it by conquest. . . . . .

Faithfully yours, REDESDALE.

Ely Place, Dec. 30th, 1802.

Dear Sir,—I am much obliged to you for your kind and instructive letter. A few words from a person *sitting in your seat* conveys much. You look upon the whole, as you would survey London from St. Paul's, or Milan from the Cathedral — but with this advantage, that you are not so much elevated as to prevent your seeing pretty distinctly, and hearing, and even overhearing much. It always struck me that a Speaker from his chair, hearing something of characters, and having, whilst attending to every babbler, much leisure for contemplation, had great advantages in forming judgments of men and things; especially if he kept on tolerable terms with all parties, though in the confidence of one.

Your opinion of Irish affairs and mine since I came here have been nearly the same; and why? because we have seen Ireland since the Union. And Ireland *since* the Union and Ireland *before* the Union are very different things. . . . .

I think I can see an eager wish for moderate reform, for too many persons are implicated to admit of a general wish for

strong reform; and compensation has become so favourite a word that they are inclined rather to wait till reforms can be made without compensation, than to induce the burthen of making compensations.

I have thought much on the measures to be pursued, for, as you term it, Protestantising Ireland. I incline to think, if circumstances in England will permit, the first step ought to be commutation of tithes; I believe the country will never be quiet enough for the general residence of a Protestant clergy till that shall be done; and it would conciliate much, and be highly beneficial to the present clergy. What I should prefer would be Bankes's scheme. To value the tithes as they now stand for a twenty-one years' lease, and to make an additional valuation every seven, preserving always a term of fourteen years, at the old rent, and the last seven years' valuation. The valuation to be made at the expense of Government in the first instance, and of the several parishes at every seven years; and to be made in all cases by sworn Commissioners appointed by Government for the different districts, with appeal to a jury; if the appellant shall be the clergyman, the jury to be laymen; if the appellants shall be the parish, the jury to be clergymen. The whole parish to be charged with the rent, and the Commissioners to vote the apportionments amongst the parishioners in the first instance, and afterwards they to assess themselves under the control of an appeal to the Session or some such regulation. . . . . Perhaps it would be advisable to make some fixed composition for potatoes, which would only affect the landholders among themselves; and I would propose something like this, that a rood of potatoes should be deemed equal to a rood of the best corn land in the parish; and I think it would be advisable to make, if possible, the apportionments of the rents as permanent as the rents, viz. from seven years to seven years. Ever affectionately yours, REDESDALE.

CHAP. XV.

1803.

MEETING OF THE NEW PARLIAMENT.—MR. ABBOT RE-ELECTED SPEAKER.—IN THE DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS MR. FOX SUPPORTS THE MINISTERS.—DEBTS OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.—CONVERSATION WITH MR. ADDINGTON ABOUT PITT'S RETURN TO POWER.—NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN PITT, ADDINGTON, ETC.—RENEWAL OF WAR.—KING'S MESSAGE TO PARLIAMENT.—GREAT DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS IN REPLY.—CLERGY RESIDENCE BILL.—FOX'S MOTION ON RUSSIAN MEDIATION.—MOTION FOR CENSURE OF MINISTERS.—PROPOSED INCREASE OF THE REGIUM DONUM.

THE new Parliament met on Tuesday the 16th of November, 1802, and I was unanimously elected Speaker; Sir W. Scott proposed me, and Mr. Lascelles seconded the motion. Mr. Thomas Grenville, who had been talked of as a competitor, was not present; and three days afterwards, when he took his seat, he acquainted me that he had purposely absented himself, because he would not give countenance to the report of his opposing me; rejoicing (as he was pleased to say) as much as any of my warmest friends on my being re-elected to an office, for which I was so well qualified. I was approved on the 17th by Commission. The swearing of Members lasted till Tuesday the 23rd, when the King came down and made his speech from the Throne.

The motion for the Address and the Report were the subject of long debates; as were also the votes for the Army at 90,000 regulars, and the Navy at 50,000 seamen; but no division took place upon any one question. Nor did the Opposition move any amendment upon the Address, or propose any original question on their part during this portion of the session. Mr. Fox and his friends supported the Ministers. Their opponents were principally; Mr. Wyndham,

Mr. Thomas Grenville, Mr. W. Elliott, Dr. Lawrence, Admiral Berkeley, Lord Temple, Lord Folkestone, Lord Proby, Sir W. W. Wynn, C. W. Wynn; besides another party, viz. Mr. Canning, Sir H. Mildmay, Sir John Wrottesley, Lord Granville Leveson, Lord Morpeth, Mr. Sturges, Mr. Cartwright, Sir R. Lawley.

A few days before the Christmas recess, Mr. Addington, upon moving for an issue of Exchequer Bills, took occasion to state at length the financial and commercial situation of the country, with the distant prospect only of a small eventual loan being necessary towards the close of the session. This speech was received with the greatest satisfaction, and the funds rose in one day nearly five per cent.

The last measure before the recess which became the subject of debate was the Bill for appointing Commissioners to inquire into the abuses in the Naval Departments. The Bill was brought in by the Admiralty in a state to require much alteration in the Commons, and much more was made in it by the Chancellor in the Lords, perhaps not greatly to its improvement.

The rebuilding and altering the Speaker's house, which Mr. Wyatt had promised to complete before winter, proceeded very slowly; but the great dining room remaining untouched, I was able to give occasional dinners to several members of the House of Commons, &c.

SUMMARY FROM JANUARY 1ST, TO MAY 16TH, 1803.

I passed the month of January at Kidbrooke,* during which time I received letters from Lord Redesdale and Mr. Addington respecting the religious establishments of Ireland.†

In February, upon the meeting of Parliament, the House of Commons proceeded upon election petitions, of which thirty out of fifty-one were disposed of in this session without having a call, and Michael Angelo Tay-

* Mr. Abbot's seat in Sussex. † Given in Appendix.

lor's Bill, authorising the balloting of these Committees upon a day was found very useful.

I had a correspondence about the same time with Garter King-at-Arms, about the precedence between the Speaker of the House of Commons and a Peer of Ireland, whilst a member of the House of Commons, upon any occasion out of Parliament where strict rank was to be observed, such as in signing solemn instruments of state. Garter King at Arms inclined strongly to think that such Irish Peer would have the precedence, notwithstanding the express words in the Act of Union as to the loss of privileges.

About the middle of February a message was brought from the King, recommending the Prince of Wales's situation to the consideration of Parliament. Long and singular debates took place, and the Prince's friends, at the same time that they expressed the acquiescence of H. R. H. in the extent of the provision proposed, signified his readiness to accept a *larger* assistance if Parliament were ready to pay his latter debts as well as to restore him to his full income.

But, before this question was terminated, a message was brought from the King on the 8th of March, acquainting Parliament that France was arming;—and the militia was called out.

At Easter much expectation was formed of a change of Administration. Subjoined is a minute of my conversations with Mr. Addington upon the subject: and, also, with Lord Redesdale, who was with Mr. Pitt at Bromley Hill* during the same week.

MINUTE OF MY CONVERSATION WITH MR. ADDINGTON, APRIL 19TH, 1803.

Mr. Addington related, that in January intimation came to him on the part of Mr. Pitt, that Mr. Pitt was less disinclined to return to power.

* Mr. Long's house.

Mr. Addington told Steele, Perceval, Long, and others of Mr. Pitt's friends, that he, Mr. Addington, would be no obstacle to so desirable an end.

But Mr. Pitt stayed at Walmer during February and March.

In March Lord Melville came to town, and, after a conversation with Mr. Addington, went to Walmer, and carried Mr. Addington's consent to any arrangement that should bring Mr. Pitt to a junction with those who had approved the leading measures of the present Administration.

On March 22nd, Lord Melville * wrote a long letter from Walmer, that Mr. Pitt was dissatisfied with many acts of Government, and particularly "fatal errors in statement of finance, revenue, and charge."† That Mr. Pitt was ready to act if desired in that quarter, and with the concurrence of those who might be included in the arrangement. But that Mr. Pitt must be First Minister, &c.

N.B. This letter was dictated by Mr. Pitt to Lord Melville, and Mr. Pitt took a copy of it.

Lord Melville on his return proposed for Pitt to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, and for Mr. Addington to go to the Lords with a provision, *e. g.*, as Speaker of the House of Lords.

Mr. Pitt was ready to join on the basis of the present Administration, with some one friend.

Mr. Addington was disinclined to go to the Lords, but, if he went, must have, not a new provision of the sort proposed, but a regular office and duties.

* This letter is published (as well as most of the others here alluded to) in *Lord Sidmouth's Life*, vol. ii. p. 114.

† From *Rose's Diary*, vol. ii. p. 23. It seems that Mr. Pitt had pointed out these errors "in detail" to Mr. Addington himself; but he complained that Mr. A. was so thoroughly "ignorant of the whole matter that he could not make him comprehend the extent, or even the nature, of his gross blunder." Mr. Pitt's account of these conferences is to be found in *Rose*, p. 31-40, and coincides very generally in that given above on the authority of Mr. Addington.

Then Long was empowered to communicate this, and went to Walmer and did so.

N.B. Lord Grenville arrived as Long was getting into his chaise to come away.

Long returned; reported Mr. Pitt willing; hoped only Grenville was not to be proscribed.

April 10th. — Conversation opened by Mr. Pitt.

That it was indispensable for Lord Melville, Lord Spencer, Lord Grenville, and Wyndham to be of the Cabinet. There must be a general sweep; and the change must be made by the King's desire, and with the recommendation of the King's present confidential servants.

11th.—Mr. Addington came away on Monday, giving no hopes of acceding to such an arrangement, but promising to communicate with his colleagues.

12th.—Mr. Addington wrote to Pitt his own opinion, on reflection, that it was impossible for him to recommend or approve of any such proposal. But he would communicate it to his colleagues the next day; and he offered to go to Bromley Hill on the 14th, and hoped that Mr. Pitt would not adhere to the full extent of his opinion.

13th.—Mr. Pitt answered: "The grounds mentioned must be the *only* grounds on which he could consent to enter into any plan of arrangement. It would be an unnecessary trouble for Mr. Addington to come to Bromley Hill on the next day, unless his colleagues should consent to these, the only grounds," &c. &c.

14th.—Mr. Addington replied that, "notwithstanding the intimation in the preceding letter, he thought it proper to acquaint Mr. Pitt that he had communicated with his colleagues, who were earnestly desirous of every addition to the strength of the present Government, by the accession of those who had expressed their approbation of the leading measures."

But they could not concur in advising His Majesty to call into his services those whose declared opinions had been adverse to the maintenance of the present

Government, and would therefore, in their judgment, not promote the public interests.

14*th*.—Mr. Pitt rejoined in two lines, "that the letter which he had received only required that he should acknowledge its receipt." But

15*th*.—Mr. Pitt wrote a very long letter to Mr. Addington, to obviate the possibility of any misapprehension upon certain points:

1. He, Mr. Pitt, had never made any proposition.

2. That he had always insisted he could not undertake any plan of arrangement, unless that wish was expressed from the highest quarter, and unless it was by the recommendation of the King's present confidential servants.

3. That, if so called upon, he must propose those who had been of the former Administration to be included in the plan for His Majesty's consideration; but that the whole plan must be submitted to His Majesty for his approbation or rejection, and to be accommodated to his judgment and inclination.

But that, if His Majesty should not approve of those persons being included whom Mr. Pitt thought necessary for the conduct of public affairs, it would remain for him, Mr. Pitt, to determine whether, under such circumstances, his services could be useful.

However, he considered the whole matter to be now at an end.

19*th*.—Mr. Addington, after showing the draft to Lord Melville and Lord Castlereagh, wrote to Mr. Pitt an answer to his explanation, showing that from the first, by the letter of Lord Melville, it had always been understood that Mr. Addington's wish was to have Mr. Pitt's services for the King's Government, to strengthen it, but not to change, much less to subvert it, &c.

Mr. Pitt left town to go to Walmer. His conduct in the whole transaction is very much disapproved by Lord Melville, Lord Chatham, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Hawkesbury, Steele, &c.

20*th*.—I saw Lord Redesdale, who had been at Bromley Hill, and talked with Mr. Pitt on the Thursday and Friday the 14th and 15th, and was there when Mr. Pitt wrote his letter of the 15th to Mr. Addington.

He was quite satisfied that Mr. Pitt had gradually shifted his ground in the transaction, and, from a willingness to support, had ended in a desire to subvert, being overborne by Lord Grenville.* Lord Redesdale had told Mr. Pitt, that to come in with the Grenvilles in this manner, would naturally create a belief that the Catholic measure, for which they had resigned, was now to be resumed upon their all returning back into office.

It was believed Canning had been principally instrumental in working upon Mr. Pitt to the temper of mind which had produced this end of the transaction; but that Canning had not been an agent in the immediate transaction itself.

Mr. Pitt was now going to Walmer, to stay there inactive, because he could not be present in Parliament without expressing his disapprobation of much that was doing; and yet he was unwilling to do so; and, upon the whole, Lord Redesdale believed Mr. Pitt was heartily glad that his own desire had failed, and that he was now rid of any junction with the Grenvilles.

The Dean of Christ Church† called on me the same day. He had heard the whole, and talked freely with the Duke of York; and that Mr. Addington's conduct was perfectly proper throughout.

* This is probably a correct view of the fact. In the *Courts and Cabinets of George III.*, vol. iii. p. 282, is given a long narrative of the negotiation drawn up by Lord Grenville, and from his account (p. 286 especially) of the language he held to Pitt on the subject of the Catholic question, and of what was due to Pitt's own position, &c., it is quite evident that his unaccommodating temper inclined him to throw many more difficulties in the way of an arrangement than Pitt of himself was disposed to entertain. It may be remarked, however, that Lord Malmesbury (iv. 276) looked on Addington himself as insincere in the transaction, and as employing artifice to injure Pitt with the King.

† Dr. Cyril Jackson, who had been tutor to the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York.

The Duke of York thought things might yet come about; but the Dean thought not.

28*th.*—Mr. Addington told me through Steele, Mr. Pitt had said he saw no reason why there should be any ill-humour on account of what had passed; and, if the issue of the negotiation was war, he should be ready to support the Government.

29*th.*—Mr. Addington told me that after his letter in answer to Mr. Pitt's, on the 15th inst., he had received another from Mr. Pitt, admitting the substance of all Mr. Addington had stated, but desiring his own letters during the negotiation might be laid before the King; and, upon the following day, had sent a further letter desiring Lord Melville's from Walmer might also be laid before the King.

To which Mr. Addington had answered that he would lay all the letters before the King; and that he could not give a stronger proof of his desire to comply with Mr. Pitt's wishes than by laying Lord Melville's, in which there were many sentiments repugnant to his own feelings, and many statements the justice of which he could not admit.

29*th.*— Vansittart told me that the old opposition had made advances to the King through the Duke of Northumberland.

No discussion or question took place in Parliament between the 8th of March and the 6th of May; the public remaining in suspense as to the issue of the question with France.

On Friday the 6th of May, it being known that Lord Whitworth was recalled, and that General Andréossi had desired his passports, a debate arose upon the question of adjourning from Friday to Monday.

The speakers for the adjournment were, Mr. Addington, Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Castlereagh, Sir Robert Peel, and several others.

The speakers against the adjournment were principally, Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Sheridan,

Mr. Ryder, Mr. Canning, Lord G. L. Gower, Mr. Wyndham, &c.*

On Monday the 16th of May, General Andréossi left London.

A Council was held at two o'clock, at the Queen's House, when a message to both Houses of Parliament was signed by the King, and letters of marque and reprisal against France were ordered to be issued.

The message was delivered in the House of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and this day se'nnight was fixed for taking it into consideration. Some observations were made by Grey and Fox upon the silence of the message in respect of the letters of marque and reprisal; but all discussion of the question of peace or war was reserved till the papers should be laid before the House, which Lord Hawkesbury, in answer to Mr. Grenville, assured the House would contain the whole discussions, at least all the material discussions between this country and France subsequent to the Treaty of Amiens.

An excellent pamphlet was published this day, detailing Leibnitz's Memoir to Louis XV. upon the project of conquering Malta and Egypt as the short road to universal dominion over the nations of Europe.

Tuesday, May 17th.—The resolutions for consolidating the Customs' duties went through Committee; and all opposition to the tonnage duty was waived on account of the war.

18th.— In the House, reprimanded John Simpson, Mayor and Returning Officer of Great Grimsby. Upon the Ilchester Election Report the House proceeded to a further consideration; and resolved to order the Attorney-General to prosecute Mr. Davison and twenty-five persons. The Master of the Rolls argued, as on the former occasion, where there was a statutory prosecution given to the common informer, the House of Com-

* At this point the Diary, which has been broken off for some time, is resumed uninterruptedly.

mons would not, and ought not, to order a second prosecution for the same offence.

Bragge and others argued contrà; 1st, that the House of Commons should vindicate its own privileges, and not leave them to the chance of the common informer, subject to collusion, &c., nor wait till the two years given to the common informer were expired; 2ndly, that this case consisted of two offences, the individual *bribery*, for which alone the common informer could sue his penalties; and *also*, a *conspiracy* to bribe the *whole* borough, which was a distinct and a larger offence.

Division upon the previous question, 44; against, 56; for the prosecution, 60; against, 38.

20*th*.—Mr. Pitt took his seat for the first time in this Parliament. He told me he thought the debate not likely to be long on Monday, if confined to the question of war with France; though, to be sure, if all the points in all the papers of correspondence were gone into, there could be no saying where it would end. He said he had been a long time truant, and did not stay the debate.

Lord Hawkesbury brought up the papers ordered yesterday; and a long and desultory but important conversation took place on a great variety of points. Grey, in the course of it, said, that as we were now at war upon the question of supporting the Crown, there could be but one opinion, whatever might have been the conduct or misconduct of Ministers.

The great charge against them upon this and the preceding day was the want of *written documents* to show the *formal and official remonstrances* against the aggressions of France, and the *formal and official answers* to them on the part of France; and it was strongly urged that the points in the correspondence and those stated in the King's declaration, had been left too much to verbal conference.

22*nd*.—Saw Mr. Addington and the draught of Address as prepared by Lord Pelham. Not approving of this, Mr. Addington sat down and wrote another.

Mr. Addington had not seen Mr. Pitt, nor was there any probability of it. Mr. Pitt was expected to leave town on Tuesday next after the debate. Mr. Grey also. A division on Monday was scarcely expected, as the Address was to put the question only upon the cause of England against France. Lord Hawkesbury is to go up to the House of Lords immediately after these questions.

23*rd*.—The Duchess of York, with Lady Ann Smith, &c., came through my house to hear the debate in the gallery of the House of Commons. The Duchess supped here after the debate.

24*th*.—Settled with the Serjeant-at-Arms and Mr. Ley that the gallery door should be opened every day, if required, at twelve; and the Serjeant would let the housekeeper understand that the "newswriters" might be let in in their usual places (the back row of the gallery), as being understood to have the order of particular Members, like any other strangers.

House of Commons. Adjourned debate on the Address. Divided at three o'clock in the morning. For the amendment, 67; against it, 398.

In the debate* Mr. Fox spoke from ten o'clock till one; and in these three hours delivered a speech of more art, eloquence, wit, and mischief than I remember to have heard from him. His principles were rather protested against than argued by the Attorney-General and Wyndham.

25*th*.—Mr. Wyndham sent me a note with "The Oracle" of Tuesday, containing the complaint of the newswriters for being shut out of the gallery by accident† on Monday; in which he states his opinion that

* Lord Malmesbury, vol. iv. p. 256, mentions that Pitt's speech in this debate was "the finest he ever made; never was any speech so cheered, or such incessant and loud applause. It was strong in support of the war, but silent as to Ministers, and his silence was naturally construed into negative censure."

† Lord Malmesbury, vol. iv. p. 256, says, "By a new arrangement of the Speaker, strangers were excluded till so late an hour that the newspaper printers could not get in, and of course no part of Pitt's speech can be printed."

"the claim thus openly made, however qualified, is a matter that calls for animadversion."

House of Commons. Notices of motion were given for Friday by Fox upon the Russian mediation; and by Canning and Patten upon production of papers and resolutions of censure upon Ministers.

26*th.*—In the House of Commons the Clergy Residence Bill was read a third time and passed. The Attorney-General (Perceval) in an able speech seemed to me to establish: 1st. That the interference of the common informer was made nugatory and ineffectual by this Bill. 2nd. That exemptions and dispensations by license for causes enumerated and non-enumerated were created to an extent nearly as great as the whole number of livings in England. 3rd. That the non-residence authorised by this Bill was more mischievous than that allowed to pluralists, who, by the very terms of their dispensation, were required to reside on one of their livings, and to live also for two months in the year at their other living.

Wyndham defended the Bill, upon what also appeared to me to be its true ground; viz. not as really enforcing residence, but rather as meliorating the condition of Churchmen, by allowing more causes of absence from their benefices, whereby at the same time that the Church would be served by the curate, the incumbent might hold other employments with his living, and by this facility of cumulative provision, more persons of talent, learning, and rank might be induced to enter into the Church.

But query? Does not this system destroy the advantage of duly endowed ministers living upon their benefices, in the sufficient means of hospitality, charity, and maintaining their relative importance with the gentry of the country?

27*th.*—The Dean of Christ Church, Dr. Cyril Jackson, came to state that from various circumstances he was led to believe Mr. Pitt to be at present disposed to an arrangement for entering into Administration without

bringing with him the Grenvilles or Cannings, &c.; and that if this could be done, placing Mr. Addington upon a bed of roses, in a dignified and official station, it was thought to be highly desirable by the Duke of Portland and Duke of York for the King's sake; for that, unless this could be done *now*, it might be soon too late, as Mr. Pitt might enter by right of conquest; whereupon the King being *forced*, &c., the worst of consequences might follow. That, as signs of probable success, Mr. Pitt had certainly stopped the debate on Thursday in the Lords, when the motion of censure on the present Ministers was to have been made, and that he said his friends mistook his wishes if they thought he desired such proceedings; that nobody did his cause so much disservice as Lord Grenville in the House of Lords, except Mr. Canning in the House of Commons; and, upon all these grounds, Mr. Pitt having desired to see the Duke of Portland on Saturday next, for the purpose of thanking him for his kind and friendly representation of him (Mr. Pitt), to the King, it was wished that Mr. Addington might countenance a proposition on the part of the Duke of Portland to sound Mr. Pitt on his present disposition to resume his office of Prime Minister, 1st, making Mr. Addington Secretary of State for the Home Department; and 2ndly, disclaiming the Grenvilles, &c.; so that Mr. Addington's removal should be *non fuga sed profectio*, &c.

N.B. It seemed also to have been an old idea that the Duke of Portland should be Lord Chamberlain, and live much in the King's family as his confidential servant as well as Minister.

I agreed to communicate all this, which I did within an hour, to Mr. Addington, who was not a stranger to a great deal of it, but declined wholly to make any *advance* whatever after what had passed at Easter: 1st, that he was not permitted to do so without the King's command; 2ndly, that he felt personally no disposition to do so, with the experience of all he had suffered of unkindness, injustice, &c.

House of Commons. Mr. Fox's motion for the Russian mediation brought on Lord Hawkesbury's declaration that dispositions to that effect had been already signified to Russia and the principal states of Europe, and Mr. Pitt's declaration of his opinion in favour of that line of conduct; all sides agreeing that hostilities should nevertheless not be suspended during such negotiations; and Mr. Fox withdrew his motion. A universal satisfaction at this coincidence of opinion was loudly manifested on all sides of the House.*

28*th.*—The Dean of Christ Church came to know the result of my communication with Mr. Addington. Expressed himself not surprised, but added as fresh grounds for thinking Mr. Pitt's return to office not impossible, that Lord Chatham had declared so yesterday; and that he understood Mr. Pitt not unwilling to submit himself and his opinions to the King in his closet.

It appeared that at Easter last Mr. Pitt had mentioned his taxes as quite ready; and that, in the wide changes which he had proposed to make, being asked whether he had thought of any change in the Speaker, he had answered that no such thought had entered into his mind.

Wednesday, June 1*st.*—House of Commons. New writ moved for Southwark, Tierney † being appointed Treasurer of the Navy.

The arrangements at present understood, are:—

Bragge	Board of Control (vice Lord Castlereagh).
Lord Castlereagh	Admiralty (Lord St. Vincent retiring).
Yorke	Secretary of State for the Home Department (Lord Pelham, to be Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster!!).
?	Secretary at War (vice Yorke).

2*nd.*—Called in Downing Street. The appointment

* Lord Malmesbury's account of this debate coincides with that given here, but adds that "it" (Fox's proposal to ask for the mediation of Russia) "is a Cabinet, not a Parliamentary measure, and Ministers, by suffering it to originate from the Opposition bench betrayed weakness, and authorise a new and most dangerous precedent."—Vol. iv. p. 259.

† Lord Malmesbury's comment on this appointment is, "This seems to be an indication of Pitt's never taking office any more."

of Tierney had been accelerated by the intention having transpired sooner than was meant. The . . . . . had talked of it, and the borough was in a state of canvass by another candidate.

Great difficulties about the motion of to-morrow. Mr. Pitt was inclined only to move the previous question or orders of the day, upon Colonel Patten's motion of censure. The Ministers would not agree to this *, but insisted upon a direct negative on the motion of censure. They would have desired a moderate vote of justification of their conduct, but Mr. Pitt would not hear of it, — "it was throwing down the gauntlet." Lord Melville was ready to negative any motion of censure. Mr. Addington showed me Lord Melville's letter, and his own answer refusing to agree to the previous question, or orders of the day, &c.

The Lords sat till half-past four in the morning, on the motion for censure.†

3rd. — House of Commons. Colonel Patten moved the resolution of censure upon Ministers for their conduct in the negotiation with France. Several Members spoke shortly till about half-past nine, when Mr. Grenville entered into the whole argument in a very able speech for nearly two hours. Mr. Addington answered him, and concluded with conjuring the House to proceed now to their final vote of condemnation or

* The account of this transaction, given in Lord Sidmouth's Life, vol. ii. p. 138, on the authority of "Mr. Milnes Gaskell's notes," are a proof how little verbal statements are to be relied on, as it is there said that Lord Sidmouth "used to relate that Pitt, repenting of his pledge" (which he probably had never given) "to support Colonel Patten's motion for censure, &c., sent Lord Melville to Mr. Addington to endeavour to compromise matters, and to convey an offer from him to move the order of the day. On my *instantly* refusing, &c., Lord Melville begged me to reconsider this determination;" but Mr. A. declared that "nothing should induce him to remain in power a single day after an indirect censure had been passed on the Government." But it is plain from the letters, which Mr. Abbot actually saw, that this communication did not take place by conversation at all.

† It was brought forward by Lord Fitzwilliam, and was met by an amendment "for an adjournment," moved by Lord Mulgrave, and supported by Lord Melville. The adjournment was rejected by 106 to 18, and the resolutions by 96 to 14.

acquittal, that the Ministers might know whether they were to stand or fall; and the country might have their full exertions for conducting the war, or set them aside by an explicit declaration of censure if they deserved it.

Mr. Pitt immediately rose, to state that he could not agree to the censure; nor would he say the Minister was without blame. He would not discuss the question itself, but should move to put it by and proceed to the orders of the day; and advise the House to devote its whole exertions to the military and financial defence of the country; and that, as the Crown still honoured the present Ministers with its confidence, to drive them out of office by a vote would only throw the country into confusion by the necessity of making arrangements for new Ministers, &c. — a hazardous, and probably long interval of suspense, with such an enemy before us, &c.* Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Castlereagh, and the Master of the Rolls, all contended for instant decision, and that Mr. Pitt's motion implied the very censure it professed to avoid, &c.

Mr. Fox would not vote either way; he thought the Ministers blamable in their conduct, but would not give a vote that should tend to remove them, because he thought them more pacific than any other Ministers who would succeed them.

On Mr. Pitt's motion, the Ministers, the Grenvilles, and most of Mr. Fox's friends divided together against reading the orders of the day. For the motion, 56 + 2 tellers, 58; Against it, 333 + 2 tellers, 335. Afterwards Mr. Pitt and most of his friends went out of the House †, and then upon the main question thus divided: —

* Mr. Addington in his notes records his opinion that "Mr. Pitt's amendment on Colonel Patten's motion was an act of direct hostility; it was universally so considered: and from that time his opposition was never relaxed whenever it could be shown."—*Lord Sidmouth's Life*, vol. ii. p. 140. Lord Malmesbury's opinion differs from Mr. Addington as to Pitt's object, but in reference to its effect on Pitt's own influence, calls it "certainly not a judicious measure, though *kindly* intended towards the Government by Pitt. Its effect is to furnish a plea for *the many* to desert Pitt, and blame him." — vol. iv. p. 260.

† Fox and Sheridan did the same, and did not vote on the main question.

For the resolutions of censure, 34+2 tellers, 36; against them, 275+2 tellers, 277. The house adjourned at half-past four.

4*th.* — Birthday. The King in high spirits. His household took pains to say he was much pleased with the event of the preceding night.

5*th.*—Lord Cornwallis has offered to serve as Commander of the forces in Ireland. Bond is to be Secretary at War.

6*th.* — Army Estimates. Mr. Pitt assented to the principle of a new and further levy beyond the regular establishment, and urged expedition, and proffered himself as ready to associate with others in sharing the obloquy of harsh measures of defence and finance at such a crisis. Wyndham urged the same principles.

10*th.* — House of Commons; 40,000 more seamen voted to the navy. This day Mr. Pitt saw the outline of the proposed Budget, which Steele communicated to him. He said the magnitude of the supplies to be raised within the year exceeded his expectation, and fully met his wishes; as to the details, he saw no material objection.

Woronzow communicated to Lord Hawkesbury Mascoff's account of Buonaparte's behaviour to him at a levee lately. Buonaparte said to Mascoff, "that Russia had acted a double part, and that Russia was ungrateful to France for the favours received from France."* Mascoff made no reply, but sent in a strong memorial to Talleyrand, complaining of such language, upon such subjects, at such places, and denying the charge.

12*th.*—Lord Castlereagh and Wickham came by appointment to settle the form of applying to Parliament for an increase of the Regium Donum to the Presbyterians of Ireland.

I told Lord Castlereagh I understood that he did not

* Lord Malmesbury's account (vol. iv. p. 266) corresponds with that given above, with the addition that Buonaparte suspected the duplicity of Russia to be owing to Woronzow's own preference for the English. Lord M. thinks Buonaparte was offended at what had taken place in the House of Commons in the debate on the Russian Mediation.

come to ask my opinion upon the policy of such a measure; for upon that point I certainly had a very distinct opinion; but upon the form of proceeding he should have the best assistance I could give him. And with Mr. Ley it was settled that the regular way would be for the Synod of Ulster (to whom, as non-conforming ministers, the Regium Donum had been given to distribute amongst themselves ever since the reign of King William) to petition the House of Commons, stating generally the insufficiency of the means hitherto furnished; the increase in 1792 by the Parliament of Ireland, and the desire of a further increase. That this petition should be signed by the Præses, Moderator, or other officer accustomed to sign for the body; and that such petition, if the prayer of it were recommended to the consideration of the House, would be referred to a Committee upstairs; and their report in its favour would afterwards be referred to a Committee of the whole House; in which Committee some specific sum might be voted to be applied by His Majesty in such manner and on such conditions as he should think fit. And this grant would then be incorporated in the General Appropriation Act.

It was upon this plan understood that the conditions would be previously proposed to the Synod, and agreed to by them before their petition should be presented. And that, unless the conditions on the part of the Crown were accepted, the petition would not be countenanced; and, unless also they were fulfilled, the Crown would at any time withhold the moneys which Parliament should place in its hands.

The conditions to be offered to the Synod were in substance the plan communicated to me by Lord Castlereagh in 1801.

13*th*.—House of Commons. Budget: Mr. Addington opened it in a speech of two hours; at the close of which no member offered a single observation upon it. Mr. Pitt was present.

14*th*. — House of Commons. Report of the Budget. Mr. Pitt again present, but said nothing. Many Mem-

bers spoke upon the whole, and several articles of the Budget, in a desultory debate of three hours; but with general approbation of the plan.

16*th.* — Mr. Cowper having disputed my opinion that the original Record of every general Statute is *not* the Bill in the Parliament Office, but *the Enrolment delivered into Chancery*, I sent him an extract from *Lord Hobart's Reports*, fo. 109, where the point is adjudged upon a decree by the Chancellor, "with the uniform consent of the Judges and Master of the Rolls." I sent an extract of the same passage to Lord Ellenborough, and showed it to the Attorney-General.

N.B. Lord Eldon was clearly of the same opinion, v. *infra*, July 17th.

20*th.* — House of Commons. Yorke brought forward the plan for additional force. Wyndham opposed; Addington supported. Pitt expressed his satisfaction on the principle of the measure which his Right Honourable friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer had supported, reserving all observations upon the details for the further progress of the measure.

Corry brought forward the Irish Budget, which was well received.

23*rd.* — House of Commons debate, the second reading of the Army of Reserve Bill, which Mr. Pitt strongly supported against Mr. Wyndham, &c.

24*th.* — House of Commons: debate on additional War Tax on malt, &c. A division against the additional Malt Tax: 11 to 51.

27*th.* — House of Commons. Committee on Army of Reserve Bill, sat till one o'clock. Yorke and Pitt had met and worked together upon the clauses of the Army of Reserve Bill.

30*th.* — House of Commons. Debate on third reading of Army of Reserve Bill. Colonel Crawford stated his opinion on the military practicability of invading England and taking London. Yorke cleared the gallery. The debate lasted till one o'clock in the morning. The Bill passed *nem. con.*

Friday, July 1. — Dean of Christ Church called. *The key* to the past transactions between Mr. Addington and Mr. Pitt seems to have been *this*. Certain persons, the Prince of Wales (Lord Moira, &c. &c.), by exasperating the King's mind against Mr. Pitt, and retailing the King's accidental or hasty expressions in his disfavour, irritated Mr. Pitt, and led him to believe that Mr. Addington was secretly his enemy and played falsely. This irritation, fomented by Canning and the Grenvilles, made him disposed to enter the Cabinet by force, and treat Mr. Addington as a perfidious friend, who had supplanted him, &c. Mr. Addington, on the other side, having never deviated from the strictest sincerity in his respect and affection for Mr. Pitt, felt himself highly offended by the repulse which he met with in the negotiation at Bromley Hill, &c. &c. And Mr. Pitt, after the unsuccessful attempt to overthrow the Administration by the division upon the vote of censure upon Ministers, having his eyes open to the conduct of those who had stirred him up to that step, and having been convinced of the injustice of his suspicions of Mr. Addington's sincerity, now believes thoroughly that the fairest intentions have been always entertained towards him.

Lord Melville's negotiation at Bromley Hill seems to have failed from an ignorance of the secret causes of Mr. Pitt's distrust and suspicion of Mr. Addington's sincerity. He now never sees Canning.

When the new Administration was planned by Mr. Pitt at Easter, his intention was to have sent Canning to Ireland, and to have emancipated the Catholics, repealed all tests, &c.

5*th*. — This day the surplus of the Consolidated Fund for the quarter ending this day was 1,500,000*l*.

6*th*. — House of Commons. The Irish Additional Army Bill was committed. A long military debate. The gallery cleared.

11*th*. — Went to see the effect of the fire in Westminster Abbey on Saturday, which had burnt down the roof of the Square Tower over the choir.

CHAP. XVI.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PITT AND ADDINGTON. — LETTER FROM MR. CROKER ABOUT THE OUTBREAK IN DUBLIN — FROM LORD REDESDALE AND LORD HARDWICKE, AND MR. WICKHAM, AND FROM LADY HARDWICKE.—SECRET ACCOUNT OF THE INSURRECTION.—LETTER FROM EMMET TO MR. WICKHAM.

WEDNESDAY, July 13th.—Upon the first proceeding upon the Income Duty Bill, Mr. Pitt moved an instruction to the Committee, that it do make provision in the said Bill for the like abatements, &c., in respect of income derived from land and funds as are made upon income derived from other descriptions of property, trades, &c.

N.B. The difference in the Bill related to income from 60*l.* to 150*l.* per annum.

I stated my doubts to the House upon the regularity of such an instruction, as being unnecessary. That the purpose of an instruction was to give a *power* to a Committee to do that which it could not do without that power. Whereas, with a view to the present object of making *abatements*, the Committee were competent already so to do. Also I stated that no instruction was in itself obligatory.

This latter point Mr. Addington afterwards illustrated by pointing out that even the Committee could not act upon the instruction without a question put upon the thing to be done, which of itself implied that the instruction was not conclusive upon the Committee.

Mr. Pitt cited a precedent suggested by Mr. Rose (Journal, vol. xix. Anno. 1721), where a Committee upon a Bill for appointing Commissioners to take accounts, &c., was instructed to appoint the same persons as on a former Bill.

The question was debated on the form and the sub-

stance of the instruction, and upon a division the instruction was negatived by 150 to 50.

Words of considerable asperity, or rather language in a tone of great asperity, passed from Mr. Pitt towards Mr. Addington in these discussions.

N.B. Upon search of the Journals *no instruction of this sort* appears in Mr. Onslow's* time, nor any later than 1721, though several may be found *prior* to that date.

Query? If there may not be some even later: and yet, if very rare, whether general usage and course of not giving instructions, except for a *power*, do not constitute the proper course of proceeding?

14*th*. — House of Commons. Mr. Addington gave way to the suggestion of exemptions for land and stocks between 150*l*. and 60*l*. per annum, for the sake of carrying through his Bill with general concurrence. Committee on the Bill sat till after twelve.

15*th*.—House of Commons. Proceeded on the Income Tax. Mr. Pitt maintained a strong debate upon the mode of computing the taxable income of occupiers of lands, and divided the Committee. With him, 24; against his proposition, 91.

17*th*. — The Chancellor came to me upon the Wool Manufacturers' Bill. 1st. Agreed in the impropriety of having any new Bill to continue the proceedings upon the present Bill till the next session; and that the precedent in Reimbold's case applied only to cases of criminal proceeding to prevent failures of justice, for otherwise the prerogative of the Crown to terminate all proceedings by prorogation would be subverted. 2ndly. Determined upon the necessity and propriety of a new Bill to rectify a mistake in the last Clergy *Residence Bill*, viz. the omission of the word "Benefice," in the clause of penalty upon farming; and also to rectify another mistake, viz. the recital of the

* Mr. Onslow's Speakership lasted during the whole of the reign of George II.

title of Statute Henry VIII., which was recited with an "&c.," as in the printed Statute Book; whereas, upon the Parliament Office Bill or in the Statute Roll in Chancery, there was reason to expect the statute would be differently entitled. The Chancellor said he agreed entirely with me that Lord Hobart's opinion (Hob. Rep. fo. 109) was the true law upon the subject, and that the record of a public statute enrolled and sent into Chancery must be taken to be the original record of such a statute, and not the Bill in the public office. 3rdly. We agreed upon the mode of filling up the vacant offices at the British Museum, &c.

18*th.*—House of Commons. Military Enrolment Bill: Yorke brought it in; read a first and second time, committed, reported, ordered to be printed. In the debate Wyndham, Pitt, and Fox all concurred in the propriety of such a measure; but charged Ministers with inexcusable delay in not bringing it forward sooner. Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Castlereagh, and Mr. Addington defended Government. Sir Francis Burdett said that the only way to give spirit and energy to the people, and to make the country worth defending, was to repeal every Act since the accession of His Majesty.

22*nd.*—House of Commons. Third reading of the General Defence Bill: passed *nem. con.*, after six hours' debate, not upon the Bill, but on the different modes of military defence for the country; fortifications by field works on the coast, and upon the roads of approach to London.

25*th.*—House of Commons, voted surplus of Consolidated Fund without objection or remark from those who had disputed Mr. Addington's statements ever since Christmas last. Voted also 60,000*l.* and 16,000*l.* a year during pleasure to the Prince of Orange; and 2,000,000*l.* vote of credit.

26*th.*—House of Commons. Debate on Mr. Barham's motion respecting the taxing Sugar *ad valorem.* The motion withdrawn at last upon a declaration that

the subject should be thoroughly investigated next session.

28*th*.—A message from the King.* The Irish Martial Law Bill, and suspension of Habeas Corpus passed both Houses *nem. con.*

LETTER FROM MR. JOHN CROKER †

(GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE OUTBREAK IN DUBLIN).

Dublin Custom House, July 25th, 1803.

My dear Sir,—When I saw you last I little thought that we were on the eve of a rebellion; you may judge our surprise at having received information, about two o'clock on Saturday last, that a rising of the people was intended that night; which took place accordingly about half-after nine or near ten o'clock in that part of the city called the Liberties, Thomas Street, and James's Street, and extended itself very close to the Castle. The information when first received was not believed; however some little preparation was made towards the evening. The rebels rose in very considerable numbers; their first act was to stop the carriage of Lord Kilwarden, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, as he and his nephew and daughter were returning from his house in the country; and, after asking him who he was, they inhumanly piked him in many parts of his body; his nephew ran off, but soon met his uncle's fate, and, surprising to relate, his daughter escaped to the Castle. His Lordship and nephew were buried yesterday evening. The Liberty Rangers were the first to encounter these fellows, who stood three volleys before they broke, when there were a number of them killed and wounded. The alarm became general; the drums beat to arms, and the army and yeomanry turned out in every quarter, but by no means were the latter in a state of preparation: however the insurgents were at length subdued, but not before Colonel Browne of the 21st Regiment and four or five of the Liberty Rangers were killed. The Colonel was met as he was going, it is thought, to join the army, and was piked. The Liberty Rangers were killed as they were going singly to parade.

A number of their proclamations were found, and their depôt

* The message announced the breaking out of rebellion in Ireland; and called upon Parliament "immediately to adopt measures for the protection and security of the King's subjects in that part of the kingdom."

† Surveyor-General of the Port of Dublin.

of arms and pikes, amounting to above 20,000, were taken with a vast quantity of ammunition.

I need not state the ferment that this produced that night. Yesterday arms and ammunition were distributed at the Castle, and every corps appeared in the best way they could at their respective parades, the greater number without uniform, arms, or ammunition; but they were very soon after furnished with both. Patrols of horse and foot were sent into different parts of the city and suburbs, and every yeomanry corps was under arms the entire of last night, as an attack from the country was expected. The Privy Council met in the morning and adjourned till four o'clock; then met and adjourned to this day.

We are not yet certain of the measures which Government intends to adopt, but they must of course be strong ones, as there is nothing else now left to preserve the country. There are a number of the rebels taken; we are ignorant of the state of the interior, but we hope things are not very bad; yet report says they are up in considerable force in Kildare and Meath. The mail coaches came in on Sunday morning without molestation, and the same this morning; the city was put in the best possible state of defence, and volunteers are pressing for admittance into the Yeomanry; I never beheld so many redcoats at so short a notice, nor so many men determined to lose their lives in defence of their country.

Since writing the foregoing, reports have been circulated that Belfast had been attacked on the same night, and that the rebels were repulsed with considerable loss; but this requires confirmation. Their proclamation was just wet from the press, and was distributed from coaches in the streets; and pikes were strewed about to induce the multitude to arm themselves. They are much smaller than those used in the former rebellion, but have long light handles. I regret I could not procure one of their proclamations to send you. It is drawn up in the true spirit of the French Robespierrian principles, with very considerable ingenuity and ability, and of the wickedest tendency.

One of our officers who went to visit a distillery that night, was refused admittance for a long time, but at length being admitted he was ordered not to proceed further and was taken into custody, and a man armed with a blunderbuss was placed over him; in which situation he was kept until four o'clock on Sunday morning; when he was liberated on finding their projects were unsuccessful.

You will no doubt receive a detailed account of this horrid business from those whose situation gives them more opportunity

of knowing the extent of this insurrection; but lest you should not, I thought if it produced nothing more, it would at least afford me an opportunity of assuring you of the sincere respect, gratitude, and esteem with which I am, my dear Sir,

Your ever faithful and obedient servant, JOHN CROKER.

To the Right Hon. the Speaker of
the House of Commons.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE.*

Ely Place, Dublin, Aug. 2nd, 1803.

We are here in a state which to you will be intelligible: perfectly calm, as the garrison of a citadel, which the besiegers are undermining, is calm. Whilst external batteries do not assail the walls, and the enemy does not prepare to mount a breach so made, the garrison can only resist by countermining and by sallies. We have a most formidable battery of proclamation, covering the Dublin papers, and serving for news to the Irish readers; threats, bribes, orders to the military and magistrates. We can do no more, unless our enemy will come out and fight us handsomely. I learn by a letter from Corry to his Excellency that Hutchinson has given notice of a motion respecting the Roman Catholics. I do not deprecate the motion, if Ministers will firmly say they will not give an inch. Nothing, in my opinion, can be more despicable than the conduct of the Roman Catholics, with a few exceptions; and nothing more abominable than the conduct of their priests. The canting hypocrisy of Dr. Troy (whom I would no more trust than his namesake and relation whom we have in custody) is to me disgusting. I cannot believe that the Catholic priests were all perfectly ignorant that there existed a disposition to insurrection in the minds of the lower orders of the communion. I cannot believe that so many men could have confessed their sins to their spiritual advisers, and yet withheld this sin. If they had, it is because they have been taught by their spiritual directors that rebellion in the cause of religion is not a sin, or one not *necessary* to be confessed.

I am decidedly of opinion that you cannot safely grant anything. That you must raise the Protestant, not the Roman Catholic Church. To make them your friends is impossible. The College of Maynooth vomits out priests ten times worse than ever came from the Spanish colleges. I would withhold all

* Though some of the following papers are of a later date, it seems more convenient to insert in this place all those relating to this Irish insurrection.

supply to that establishment, and, were I Minister, would abolish it.

REDESDALE.

LETTER FROM LORD HARDWICKE, LORD-LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

[Private and confidential.] Dublin Castle, Aug. 8th, 1803.

My dear Sir,—I thank you very kindly for your two letters. The first of which informed me of the promptitude with which the Martial Law Act, and the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act had passed through both Houses of Parliament*; and the second of the 4th inst. conveyed to me a most friendly hint of what was felt in certain quarters in regard to the supposed want of information as to the state of affairs in Ireland.

By the same mail which arrived this morning I had the satisfaction of hearing from my brother that His Majesty had expressed himself favourably as to Irish Government, and that he was displeased at the insinuations against it which had been made from certain quarters. I can, however, easily reconcile both these accounts. The exaggerated reports both of private letters and of newspaper accounts gave reason to imagine that no details had been given, whereas in truth my letters to Lord Pelham of the 24th, 25th, 27th, and 28th ult. contained all that was to be said of the subject of what had passed in Dublin on the 23rd of July. The operations of the rebels were confined to Thomas Street, James's Street; their numbers did not exceed 400 people, and though the atrocious acts they had an opportunity of committing at the commencement can never be sufficiently regretted, their attack was by no means formidable, having been repulsed by the Guard of the 21st regiment at their barrack in James's Street.

It is unlucky that the Martial Law Act has only a prospective operation. It has not enabled me to try those who were taken in arms on the 23rd ult. I would most willingly have taken upon myself any responsibility; but both the Chancellor and the Attorney-General were decidedly of opinion that it was not possible to bring those people before a Court Martial; and after what had been said of the manner in which the powers of the Act would be exercised, I thought myself entirely precluded from acting not only without the advice, but against the opinion,

* The House of Lords sat late on July 28th, to receive the Bills after they had passed the Commons; and then also carried them through all their stages that night, and they received the Royal assent the next day.

of Lord Redesdale. It is very unlucky on account of the delay, and the number of criminals who will be convicted at once before the Special Commission; and whom it would have been desirable to have divided into classes of rebels in arms, and conspirators, or leaders.

I remain always, my dear Sir, yours most sincerely,

HARDWICKE.

Right Hon. the Speaker.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. WICKHAM.

[Private.] Dublin Castle, Aug. 12th, 1803.

Dear Abbot,—. . . . There were faults committed, but by no means those which are reproached to Government. The Government was not surprised; on the contrary, the greatest praise is due to it for its vigilance. It was the knowledge that the Government was well informed, and about to act vigorously, that caused a premature explosion; and, and, and,—if, if, if,—not a rebel would have escaped. The truth will come out soon: when it does come out you will learn that the General who had taken upon himself the command of the garrison of Dublin !! so that Sir C. Asgill and Dunne could not act without his orders, was sent for to the Castle at two o'clock, informed that the insurrection would break out that night, and desired to employ his whole force and suppress the insurgents.

Sir Charles (*ex abundante cautelâ*) was also sent for, and Marsden* kept him with him to a mutton chop at the office, waiting for the General's orders; and would not suffer him to dine out as he had intended, lest the insurrection should begin sooner than was expected.

Between eight and nine the General sent for Sir C. Asgill and General Dunne to Kilmainham; till that moment he had given them no orders whatever; on their return they were nearly massacred. They passed along one end of Thomas Street, whilst Colonel Browne was massacred at the other.

The whole of the business was done by two companies of the Regulars; one at the Barrack in James's Street; the other at the †. Not a yeoman was engaged, or the garrison put under arms.

There was not a cartridge at the Castle, the Ordnance, *without communication with the Lord-Lieutenant*, had removed them all away.

* The Under-Secretary at Dublin.

† Left blank in MS.

But there was no occasion for Yeomanry; half the regular garrison would have been sufficient to have taken almost every man prisoner, and to have made an example, that would have left us at rest for years to come, in the city of Dublin. In one word, an opportunity has been lost that never can be recovered.

. . . . Yours, &c. WILLIAM WICKHAM.

LETTER FROM LADY HARDWICKE TO MRS. ABBOT.

Dublin Castle, Sept. 10th, 1803.

It would be difficult for you to believe, my dear Mrs. Abbot, how much I have written to you of late, if you measure your belief by what you have received, but there is no person more apt to prate on paper than myself, or less apt to send my gossipings when I have written them.

I cannot write a mere wind and weather letter to such a friend as yourself: one, too, who has been in the vessel with us in stormy weather: therefore I have sometimes written my whole heart to you with all the impressions of the moment, but I have duly burnt the communications, lest I should have gone too far in giving them even to you; but now that our Commander of the Forces is recalled, I may speak without hesitation, and tell you that he is equally infirm in body and mind. No misrepresentations of surprise could have taken place had he given his orders to his officers and men, to have themselves in readiness to sally forth on the first appearance of tumult. The troops in the garrison, the guards at the Castle, a whole regiment in the old Custom House in Parliament Street just by, were more than sufficient for any possible desultory force that could be brought against the city, or could rise up within it. Lord Hardwicke brought General Fox down to the Castle, in his own coach at three o'clock, at Marsden's desire, and to use his own words "on no slight grounds." He left him thoroughly possessed with the necessity of preparation, and immediate arrangement, but the stupid soul *sent* orders to his officers to *come and receive instructions* from him at Kilmainham at a quarter after nine o'clock. The tumult began before they arrived, and some of them very narrowly escaped. Even then a series of irresolutions and imbecilities passed: and that the insurgents were quelled with so little bloodshed proves that the attempt was a very weak one. It was neither the part of the Lord-Lieutenant, nor of the Secretaries, to give military instructions to the independent Commander of the Forces; and yet Mr. Marsden *did*

suggest and request at the conference at the Castle, that the Guards at Chapel Yard might be *doubled*, which they accordingly were. All these circumstances, with many more, I write to you, my dear friend, with the intention of your showing them to the Speaker. Lord Hardwicke was too much harassed by business to have time himself, and I was most anxious that Mr. Abbot should possess the knowledge of our situation here. General Fox was protected by the Duke of York, always jealous of his own authority; he was besides particularly high in the estimation of Mr. Yorke, who had the greatest opinion of, and friendship for him. Had General Fox, therefore, been supported, what could Lord Hardwicke have done? To resign at such a moment was next to impossible: and it was worse still to remain responsible for the safety of this country with such a General!

Although I had Lord Hardwicke's permission to send the letter I had written, I hesitated to do so, and was well pleased to withdraw it entirely, on seeing that Mr. Yorke was fully sensible, though with the utmost regret of General Fox's incapacity, which perhaps might have been owing to the effects of a very long and severe illness in the Mediterranean, which he has never thoroughly recovered. The good man's own system of treating Dublin in the time of war and rebellion, like a garrison town in the time of peace, completely settled their opinion: his forbidding the soldiers to wear their side arms, even after the 23rd, was leaving them defenceless to the people; the order has not been recalled, but the breach of it has been, I believe, connived at. He disgusted all the officers at first, by relaxing discipline, dress, and parade; and by recommending that the men should mix with the people; at the same time the taking away their arms effectually offended them, for they never had deserved such a censure: and he *intimated* that the officers should not wear regimentals except on parade, himself and the family setting the example. His order forbidding the military to give any assistance in drilling the Yeomanry, was looked on as an insult. Lord Hardwicke represented it to him himself, and it was immediately withdrawn. I mention this that you may be aware how thoroughly matters are misstated in the newspapers, where it was said that Lord Hardwicke *ordered* the *Secretary at War* to recall the order.

With respect to the phrase of "daggers drawn," I must add that the worthy man shows no ill-will, no jealousy, no bad disposition; but utter inability. Would he were gone! His late illness, a boil on his thigh, was a very sufficient excuse for his

not being present at the Lord-Lieutenant's review of the Dublin Yeomanry in the Phœnix Park. It was a glorious sight; above 5000 men, attended by more than 20,000 spectators. The Captain, and second Captain of each corps, dined afterwards in St. Patrick's Hall, with about twenty grandees, in all ninety-six. The number has twice by mere chance been the same, ninety-six; and proves to be the year that the Yeomanry was first embodied. A pretty little foolish remark of my own.

How we regret that Lord Cornwallis does not come as Commander of the Forces! The dislike and the prejudices of these same Yeomanry were already giving way in the recollection of his military name: as Lord-Lieutenant they would have disliked it, but not as a military man. Already they had reasoned that he was forced to measures, not always his own, for the sake of the Union: in short, a speech, a review, and a dinner would have rendered these hasty spirits friends and admirers. The undefined situation of Lord-Lieutenant and Commander of the Forces, would never have been at odds with two such temperate men as Lord Cornwallis, and Lord Hardwicke. Perhaps the Catholic Question may have interfered at home? but in his military capacity he was totally removed from all such questions, and he is *too little* attached to modes of faith to have meddled with that dangerous subject. By the bye, my dear friend, what can you possibly mean by saying, "I am so delighted to hear that old Dr. Troy begins to lose ground in your good opinion?" Dr. Troy never possessed it in any way. This same Dr. Troy, whom I never saw, and scarce ever thought about, has no footing whatever in the Castle Yard. Lord Hardwicke's is the only administration that has never given the *Heads* of the Catholic Clergy an invitation to the Castle: he in no way recognises them further than the law admits them to be priests. Dr. Troy's exhortation was held either very useless, or very hypocritical; if he had no weight with the people it was mere words; and if he had, he could probably have prevented or disclosed the plot which his clergy were probably well aware of.* Sir Edward Littlehales, whom you fear may be talked over by him, has no sort of intercourse with him, nor, I fancy, has his titular grace seen any of the Government Acts in the way of examination. I hope, if his nephew is guilty, that proof will not be wanting: do not fear too much lenity, justice equal to all parties, is much required here; but lenity would be injustice to the community. I very well remember that you used to *swell* when Sir Edward talked of

* Dr. Troy was the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin.

the brilliancy of the Consular Court, which your letter recalls to me; but we must take folks as they are, and you must remember that it was not the politician, but the *smart man* last from Paris that was narrating. By the way, he can, in no way, *from his office* be *blamed* for the events of the 23rd: though he gave much assistance that night.*

And now, I think, you will be happy to hear, for the sake of your friend Mr. Marsden, and not less for the sake of *truth*, that nothing can be more grossly misrepresented than he has been. The whole course of information, and the steps taken on it, have been laid before His Majesty; and Mr. Yorke, at Lord Hardwicke's desire, will show them to the Speaker. The violence here has gradually subsided; it was said that he would receive no information; probably he was often obliged to break off vague and general conversation full of alarm, but directed to no point, that he might resort to those real and solid facts from which the others were detaining him. The hours pass in desultory talk, and here it is not as in England, where no man breaks in on a minister, but every one *will* be heard at length; *facts*, too, are soon stated, but mere assertion is tedious. In Cobbett's wild paper, which I dare say you have read, he states four men as more particularly illtreated by Mr. Marsden on that occasion; three of the number are literally his friends, and *all* have given their full testimony in writing to the contrary of that statement.

It is worth while that I should state to you the circumstances of Clark, the manufacturer at Palmerston, one of those particularly specified. On the 21st he came to Mr. Marsden, as he was often in the habit of doing, and told him he feared there was mischief among his men. Next day he returned, and assured him with joy that he was satisfied he was wrong; he had had the strongest assurances of fidelity from them, and he believed them. But on the 23rd he returned in renewed fears, and on his information it was that Mr. Marsden sent for the Lord-Lieutenant and the Commander of the Forces (the former he had seen in the morning). At six the same night Mr. Clark came again with the account that his men had demanded their wages at an early hour, and that they had dressed themselves in their best clothes, and were coming into town for bad purposes. This is the man whom Cobbett asserts to have been driven from Marsden's presence with reproaches and contempt. He was afterwards wounded in the street, but it seems doubtful whether it was by his own men. He was brought by his own request back to Mr.

* Sir E. Littlehales was Military Under-Secretary.

Marsden's house, and certainly no man can be more surprised than he now is, to find himself specially named as having been illused and browbeaten by poor Marsden. One thing is worthy of remark; in the whole of this clamour Fox is scarcely named, though whatever blame may be, rests wholly with him. But his situation exposes him less to the envy and illwill of many than that of the other, who has made his way by his own abilities. The ignorant or angry letters from Dublin are believed in England, and the impressions last; here all *blazes* and *expires*. Already they respect *that* Government which withstood *their clamours* for martial law, unsanctioned as it then was by Parliament (though, had the mischief spread, Lord Hardwicke has always declared he would have taken the responsibility on himself). In their intemperance they loudly declared their belief that no jury would dare to find the rebels guilty, or that if they did, would Government *dare* to punish them. In spite of all their violence, they have seen that the slow but steady march of justice can overtake the offender, even in this lawless country. No attempt has been made to rescue the prisoners, and the trials and the executions have been undisturbed, though in the midst of multitudes. The sentence being put in force the following day has struck much awe on the minds of those who talked so loud of the fear or weakness of their rulers.

Several sentences in your letter, my dearest friend, have induced me to give you these particulars; being perfectly certain that you will be happy to know the real state of affairs here, where you were once even more interested than now.

I have shown Lord Hardwicke my letter, which sanctions me in wishing, rather presumptuously, that you would show it to the Speaker himself. As you are not in London, some of the particulars may be new to you, or at least may appear in a different point of view. All minds will be occupied with the trial of Emmett next week. Redmond is recovering to meet his destined fate. Unhappy young man, he seems to have been a fit instrument for the ambition of Emmet to work with. *General* Russell is now confined in the Birmingham tower. He talks it well of honour and duty. Strange perversion of language! I will now conclude this very long letter, which I am almost ashamed of having written. Adieu! My love to your boys.

I remain very sincerely and affectionately yours,

E. HARDWICKE.

I must not omit to mention how much we are surprised at the accounts of Dublin in the English papers. The conflagration

of the Parliament House, and other fires breaking out at the same time; *blazing* when the express came away;—had a very odd effect on us, who knew of no fires except those in the kitchen, which the alarms of the last month have not extinguished.

COPY OF A DOCUMENT SENT BY MR. WICKHAM TO THE SPEAKER.

[Marked "Most Secret."]

Account of the Insurrection in Dublin of the 23rd July, 1803, *and of the circumstances by which it was preceded; prepared from the Evidence on the late State Trials, from the secret examination of several of the accomplices, and from various secret documents, particularly from intercepted letters, and from papers found in the possession of several of the conspirators.**

Early in the year 1801, Mr. Robert Emmet, went over to the Continent with a mission to the French Government from the Executive Directory of the United Irishmen here. He was accompanied by a Mr. Malachi Delany of the county of Kildare, now in custody on suspicion of having been concerned in the late insurrection. Delany had been formerly an officer in the Austrian service, and was deeply engaged in the rebellion of 1798.

They travelled through England, and embarked at Yarmouth, for Hamburgh; Emmet (against whom there was no charge) under his own name, and Delany under the name of Bowers.

They resided some time in Hamburgh, until at last they obtained passports from General Augereau, commanding the French army on the Lower Rhine, and proceeded to Paris. At Paris they had communications with the French Government in the course of the year 1801. What was the particular object of their communications is not known; but, whatever it was, they were put an end to by the peace which was soon after concluded, when Emmet left Paris and came to Brussels to meet his brother Thomas Addis Emmet, who had been discharged from Fort George.

He returned to this country in November, 1802, where he remained unmolested, as he had done before, there being no

* One or two other important documents relating to this rebellion are to be found in the Castlereagh Correspondence, vol. iv. But this, which is the most important of all, it is believed, has never yet been published.

charge against him; the circumstance of his having been on this treasonable mission having only been discovered since the insurrection of the 23rd July.

Delany, who returned nearly at the same time, was brought to trial in the county of Kildare at the last Spring assizes, on a charge of murder committed by the men under his command during the late rebellion. On this trial he was acquitted, and as the evidence of his being a rebel leader was the same which was brought forward to prove the murder, he was entitled from the moment of his acquittal to the full benefit of the Amnesty Act.

About the time of Robert Emmet's return to Dublin, a project of insurrection in Ireland of a very serious nature was formed in Paris, *to take effect in time of peace.* The French Government appears to have been privy to it, meaning however to use it as a war measure, or rather as the precursor of an immediate declaration of war.

An expedition was prepared for Louisiana, in which all the Irish in Paris were to embark, *ostensibly as settlers.* General Humbert*, who was sent for home from St. Domingo, was to have the command. He was to throw up his commission in the French service, as if in disgust, engage in this expedition as a private adventurer, and take with him a number of discharged officers and soldiers in the guise of settlers and common labourers. They were to have put to sea from Havre as if for Louisiana, and then to have landed in Connaught.

Colonel McDonnell, a Connaught rebel, and Gannon, a Connaught priest (who served as interpreter to General Humbert when in Ireland), were to have preceded them. These two men were the agents who communicated between the disaffected Irish in Paris and the French Government; which Government always continued to speak of the expedition as if it were intended really for Louisiana. McCabe, a banished traitor, settled at Rouen, and Sweeny, another gentleman of the same description, settled at Havre, were parties in the plot. They were engaged in purchasing cast arms, of which a depôt, intended to amount to 4000, was begun to be formed at Havre.

It appears from an intercepted letter of Napper Tandy's, that an expedition to Louisiana, in which the Irish were to take a part, had been intended by the French Government so early as

* General Humbert was the commander of the force which had effected a landing at Killala in 1798; but which afterwards surrendered to Lord Cornwallis.

June or July 1802. But, whether it was then in contemplation to give this expedition an Irish direction seems doubtful.

This at least is certain, that Napper Tandy was to have embarked in it with the rank and pay of a General of Division.

Early in February Quigley, Ware, and McDermott, three banished traitors of the county of Kildare, received orders from McCabe, who came to Paris for them to come down to his house at Rouen, and wait there for further directions. The next day they received *from Russell* ten guineas apiece, and two of them (Quigley and McDermott), set out for Rouen; the third remained behind.

At Rouen they were told that they must embark immediately for Ireland under the care of Hamilton, who would introduce them to *the person there from whom they were to receive their future orders.*

[Hamilton had a commission in the French service, was on board the French fleet that was defeated by Sir John Warren in 1798, off the coast of Donegal, was taken prisoner in the action, but was not discovered, and was regularly exchanged as a French officer. He married a niece of Russell.]

The third day McDermott, tired with waiting for Hamilton, who never appeared, returned to Paris.

On the fourth day Hamilton arrived, when he and Quigley set out for Havre, passed over in the regular packet boat to England, and so, by Oxford and Liverpool to Dublin.

On their arrival in Dublin, Quigley was introduced to Emmet, as *to the person from whom he was to receive his orders.* They were followed towards the end of March by Russell, who came over to Dover from Calais, passed some days in London with John Russell his brother, an officer in General Huet's office, and father to Mrs. Hamilton, and then proceeded quietly to Dublin, where his arrival was immediately discovered, and became the subject of much alarm. Both Hamilton and Russell came over with Lord Whitworth's passports, though under feigned names.

It seems that the Irish in France were at this time split into two parties: at the head of one of which was O'Connor; of the other Emmet.

It does not appear as yet quite clear whether Emmett and McNevin, who did not reside in Paris, were originally parties to the Louisiana scheme, or not. It is probable that they were; because Russell, Hamilton, and McCabe, who were privy to this last business, and parties in it, were all concerned in the Louisiana scheme.

It appears doubtful also, whether Hamilton was sent over here to prepare the way for that particular scheme, or on a separate scheme of their own; and equally doubtful whether the French Government was privy to their intention, supposing the scheme to have been a separate one. It is to be observed that Hamilton and Quigley not only left France, but arrived in Dublin before the king's message to Parliament of the 16th May had been delivered. It is remarkable also (which makes it probable that whatever their scheme was, it was to be executed in time of peace), that Emmet told Quigley when he first saw him, that they should not have more troops to oppose them in all Ireland, than had formerly been brought against the county of Kildare alone; and if the project was to have been executed in time of peace, it is scarcely possible that they would have undertaken it without the promised support of the Louisiana scheme, or some secret foreign assistance, which France alone would furnish. It appears certain, however, that no Irishman came over from France on the late occasion, but the three men above mentioned; that there was not a Frenchman in the country connected with the insurrection, and that not one penny of money was received from France.

It happened most unfortunately for poor Lord Kilwarden and the other victims of the night, as well as for the reputation for vigilance of the Irish Government, though it may now be said, most fortunately for the country, that soon after the arrival of Robert Emmet, in November, old Dr. Emmet died; viz. on the 9th December, and left near 3000*l.* to his son Robert. This sum, which to the eager mind of the young man appeared an inexhaustible treasure, first suggested the idea of the depôt, and was the sole fund from which it was created.

But for this sum, we may now say *providentially* given to him, for the wisest purposes, we should have heard of no insurrection in Ireland as yet; but the country would probably at this moment have been in a very serious state of disturbance, with means of precaution and preparation, on our side, very inferior to those we have now taken.

When Emmet came over in November, he applied himself, together with Mr. Patten, nephew to Mr. Colville, the Governor of the Bank, to the tanning business, which they were to learn from a notoriously disaffected, but a very ingenious man of the name of Norris, whom they took into a sort of partnership, Patten furnishing the money.

There is every reason to believe that at this time they considered their party as without resources in Ireland, and were

determined to have gone all three together, and settled in America.

It seems, however, that the acquisition of Robert Emmet's fortune, followed immediately by strong appearances of approaching hostilities between Great Britain and France, determined him to remain here and make an effort for the cause in which he and all his family had been actively engaged; and that he did immediately write to his brother*, to send over some confidential person, to concert measures with him here, and to carry back to France a statement of his own views, and those of his friends whom he meant to engage in the conspiracy; and that Hamilton was sent over by Thomas Emmet at the end of December. At least, this is the tendency of the evidence of which Government is in possession.

There is, however, some reason to believe, on the one hand, that this first visit of Hamilton to Ireland, in December, was accidental, and unconnected with any treasonable views, and that Robert Emmet made his proposals to him here, and sent him back with them to France; on the other, that he was sent over here by the Irish in France, with the knowledge of the French Government, for the purpose of communicating with the disaffected in Ireland, and preparing the way for the Louisiana Expedition. The truth can be easily ascertained, as Hamilton would make a full disclosure, if his life were spared, but it is not thought expedient to show him any mercy while there remains a hope of obtaining this information from any other quarter.

Whichever of these opinions may be the true one, it is certain that Hamilton (the same who afterwards brought over Quigley to Ireland), did come over here a first time about the end of December, or rather the beginning of January last; that he was at that time *exceedingly poor, and obliged to borrow money in London*, to pay his passage to Ireland; that he remained only nine or ten days in Dublin, seeing Emmet frequently during that time; that he returned, having seventy or eighty guineas in his pocket, through London to Paris, where he arrived late in January; that the Louisiana Scheme, under the direction of General Humbert, having Ireland for its real object, was then actively pursued in Paris; that a day or two

* This would appear to show that his brother was at large in Belgium, but according to Phillips's Life of Curran (p. 283) he was in prison, and not released till 1804, when he went at once to America. It is quite evident that the statement of the text must be correct, and that Mr. Phillips was mistaken.

after his arrival there he set out for Brussels, with the avowed purpose of bringing Thomas Emmet and Dr. Macnevin to Paris, where they were to reside, as the acknowledged agents of the United Irishmen; and where O'Connor, to his great disappointment, found them established as such, when he returned to Paris on the breaking out of hostilities. That it was shortly after Hamilton quitted Paris for Brussels that McCabe came to Paris as before mentioned, and that Quigley was sent to Rouen; that Hamilton, during his short stay at Paris, did see and communicate with McDonnell, and the other Irish connected with the Louisiana Scheme, and that he was soon after followed to England, and from thence to Ireland, by Russell, who lived habitually with McDonnell, and who arrived in Dublin about the end of March.

It appears that during the interval that passed between Hamilton's two visits, much communication among the disaffected had taken place; and that the general opinion amongst them was, that nothing ought to be attempted. Some talked of waiting for the French; but the great majority desired only to be quiet, and not engage in any new disturbances.

That this was really the case does not rest on the event only, but on evidence that does not leave a doubt in the minds of those who have had opportunities of carefully examining and considering the whole.

It was nevertheless determined by Emmet to proceed, and Hamilton, Russell, Allen, Stockdale, Dowdale, and a few more: (none of them of any property or character except one, Philip Long, a merchant, and young Patten, Emmet's partner), formed together the plan of arming in secret, unknown to the rest, on the principle (calculated on the general disaffection of the country), that if they could surprise Dublin, they would be joined by all who had refused to take a part with them, and that the whole country would immediately rise in insurrection.

Calculating on the same general disaffection, they wished to have no organisation in or out of Dublin; a system which they thought must inevitably lead to discovery,—consequently they had no arms in the hands of the people from one end of the country to the other. But they applied to different persons concerned as subordinate leaders in the last rebellion, desiring them *to be ready against the French should come.*

They sent Quigley into the county of Kildare, where he only remained two days, during which, however, he ensured the service of some active agents, who continued at work in the county, after he had disappeared from it. They entered into communi-

cation with the Wexford leaders, Grey, Carty, and Clooney, who at first entered into their schemes, but positively refused having anything to do with them, when they knew the nature of them, and saw how few persons of any consequence were engaged with them. And during the whole of this time, *i. e.*, from the beginning of April till the 23rd of July, Emmet was employed forming a depôt of arms with such secrecy that the principal conspirators themselves never went near it, nor knew exactly where it was.

It was conducted by Quigley, and three or four other persons, bricklayers and carpenters, who had been subordinate leaders in the late rebellion. Quigley never left the place from the time he returned first from Kildare, to the 23rd of July, except occasionally at night.

Emmet himself never went near it till after the explosion at Patrick Street, which happened on the Saturday preceding the 23rd of July, from which time he made it his habitation. The whole was conducted by Quigley with his associates, eight in number; increased to twenty during the last week.

The house in Patrick Street, where the explosion took place, was taken by one of them named McIntosh; not for the purpose of manufacturing powder, as was long supposed, but of making rockets, and other combustibles, for the purpose of filling hollow beams that were to be laid across the streets, and caused to explode in the line of march of the troops.

The explosion in Patrick Street determined them to fix an early day for the insurrection; and Emmet did in fact send down an express to Russell and Hamilton, who had gone down to to the North, to say positively, that the rising should take place on the 23rd. But, of the few persons that were in the secret in Dublin, I believe the greater part was against the attempt; and that they did continue to believe during the greater part of the week, that the thing would not be attempted.

It appears from the evidence of McCabe on Redmond's trial, that even on Saturday morning, the 23rd, there was a difference of opinion amongst the few who had adhered to Emmet. Emmet, however, determined to make the attempt, being persuaded, as he said, that the depôt must be discovered in the course of a day or two.

Accordingly, on Monday evening the Kildare people were sent for, and on Friday evening only the subordinate leaders of the old rebellion, resident in Dublin, were informed of what was intended, and desired to assemble the lower orders of the people, in their respective neighbourhoods, on the afternoon of Saturday, and wait, each about his own quarters, for further orders.

On reading the evidence of McCabe above alluded to, the history of what passed in different quarters of Dublin with persons of similar descriptions and situation in life will appear evident. They were desired to assemble their neighbours in the manner above mentioned, and were then left to themselves without orders of any kind, after they had each collected a set of old rebels about them, ready for any mischief, and expecting to have arms put into their hands by their leaders.

This is the real history of what has been said in answer to the fact that appeared in evidence on the trials, "that there were only 200 or 300 men in Thomas Street."

Many persons say they witnessed groups forming in other parts of the town, and their account is probably correct, but they were of the nature of those just described, and all unarmed.

On the 23rd, in the morning, about ten o'clock, there was a grand consultation between Emmet and his friends, when all but himself strongly objected to having anything to do with the business. All above the rank of common artisans were clearly of that opinion, for the officers in splendid green uniforms who adhered to Emmet were no greater men than Quigley, and Stafford, a baker in Thomas Street. The man in the red coat, who appears on Felix Rourke's trial to have encouraged the mob to attack the Castle, was one James Bannan, who had been a common soldier; the generals in green had fled before this man came forward.

About eleven o'clock the Kildare deputies arrived, being about eight or ten in number, all known to the Government, and most of them in custody. These gentlemen had heard that the Dublin people would not act, and therefore they began by questioning Emmet very closely. They insisted on being introduced to the other leaders, and that they should be shown the depôt of arms. Emmet refused peremptorily to introduce them to the other leaders, but consented to show the depôt to two of them immediately. These two were conducted there by Emmet, and, on their return, reported to their co-delegates that there was a quantity of pikes, of ball-cartridges, and of combustibles, but no fire-arms; on which the Kildare people to a man declared that they would have nothing to do with it, and the whole of them returned to their homes, sending back their followers whom they met on the road. Some few of these latter only, who had straggled into the town in the morning, were concerned in the rising.

The country people who came into town were those of Pal-

merstown principally, and the immediate neighbourhood of Dublin, to whom no counter-orders were sent.

Between six and seven, Emmet, who had then had a second meeting with his Dublin friends, who all continued of the same opinion they had expressed in the morning, told Quigley it would be folly to attempt an attack on the Castle, or on any other place; and that he had determined to lead all the people that should assemble to the Wicklow mountains, unless they should come in numbers much greater than he expected.

Accordingly at a little before nine the pikes were distributed from the depôt, together with about twenty blunderbusses, and Emmet with his two Lieutenant-Generals, sallied forth a little after nine, proceeding directly down Thomas Street towards Francis Street, with no other intention than to gain the country by New Street, the nearest road they could take, without passing by any barrack, or other military post.

The two Lieutenant-Generals were employed on the rear, endeavouring to bring the men up, but they refused to follow any order or direction whatever, and Emmet and his friends, including Quigley and Stafford, amounting in the whole to ten persons, made off down Francis Street and fled to the mountains, leaving the rest to take care of themselves.

All this time no blood had been shed, except in the skirmish with Mr. Wilson and the police officers. [N.B. Since this was written, it appears from a re-examination of Quigley, that a German had been murdered before they left the depôt.] The dragoon who was murdered in Thomas Street passed Emmet and his party close to the Market House at the moment they were making off towards Francis Street. They heard the shots in their rear, but did not think it right or prudent to turn back, either to assist their friends in case of need, or to prevent them from committing acts of cruelty.

All the atrocities that were committed were the acts of the mob that remained behind with the blunderbusses and pikes in their hands, with no one to head them but the soldier already mentioned. Felix Rourke was in the street, and was with them at the murder of the dragoon; but I believe he remained there because he had lost his party, and did not know how to separate himself from the pikemen. He was not in uniform, which, as he was a man of more note than either Quigley or Stafford, is, among other circumstances, a proof that he was not there with the intention of taking a command. He was probably detained at his brother's house in Thomas Street.

This is the case exactly as it passed on the part of the insur-

gents. From which it may be collected that nothing could have been more fallacious and incorrect, than the first accounts given of the whole business, or more unwarranted than the first impressions received of the strength, numbers, and description of the insurgents, or of their intentions on the night of the 23rd July.

W. WICKHAM.

An extract from an intercepted letter, written by Robert Emmet, a few days before his execution, to his brother, is annexed to this statement:—

EXTRACT FROM EMMET'S LETTER.

The whole of this plan was given up by me for the want of means, except the Castle and lines of defence, for which I expected 300 Wexford men, 400 Kildare men, and 200 Wicklow: all of whom had fought before, to begin the *surprises* at this side of the water, and by the preparations for defence, so as to give time to the town to assemble. The county of Dublin was also to act the instant it began. The number of people acquainted with it, I understood to be 3000 or 4000. I expected 2000 to assemble at Costigan's Mill, the grand place of assembly. The evening before, the Wicklow men failed through their officers. The Kildare men, who were to act particularly with me, came in, and at five o'clock went off again from the Canal Harbour, on a report from two of their officers that Dublin would not act. In Dublin itself it was given out by some treacherous or cowardly persons, that it was postponed till Wednesday. The time of assembly was from six till nine, and at nine, instead of 2000 men, there were 80* men assembled. When we came to the Market House they were diminished to 18 or 20. The Wexford men did assemble†, I believe, to the amount promised on the Coal Quay; but 300 men, though they might be sufficient to begin on a sudden, were not so when Government had five hours' notice by expresses from Kildare. Add to this, the preparations were, from an unfortunate series of

*. Though Emmet's account of his numbers was confirmed by the dying declaration of McIntosh, yet there is reason to believe that there were at least 200 men assembled in Thomas Street with pikes in their hands. — *W. W.*

† Emmet was probably led into this error by the assertion of Redmond, who was guilty of the most notorious falsehoods. There is every reason to believe that there were not 20 Wexford men assembled. — *W. W.*

disappointments in money, unfinished, scarcely any blunderbusses bought up. Money came in at five o'clock, and the trusty men of the depôt, who alone knew the town, were obliged to be sent out to buy up blunderbusses, for the people refused to act without some.

To change the day was impossible, for I expected the counties to act, and I feared to lose the advantage of surprise. The Kildare men were coming in for three days, and after that it was impossible to draw back. Had I had another week, had I had 1000*l.*, had I had 1000 men, I would have feared nothing. There was redundancy enough in any one part to have made up, if complete, for a deficiency in the rest, but there was failure in all — plan, preparation, and men.

I would have given it the respectability of insurrection, but I did not wish uselessly to spill blood. I gave no signal for the rest, and they all escaped.

I know there are men without candour who will pronounce on this failure without knowing one of the circumstances that occasioned it; they will consider only that they predicted it. Whether its failure was caused by chance or by any of the grounds on which they made their prediction, they will not care; they will make no distinction between a prediction fulfilled and justified; they will make no compromise of errors; they will not recollect that they predicted also, that no system could be formed, that no secrecy nor confidence could be restored, that no preparations could be made, that no plan could be arranged, that no day could be fixed without being instantly known at the Castle; that Government only waited to let the conspiracy ripen, and crush it at their pleasure; and that on these grounds only they predicted its miscarriage.

LETTER FROM MR. WICKHAM TO MR. ABBOT.

[Private] Dublin Castle, Sept. 22nd, 1803.

My dear Abbot,—I am very greatly in your debt, but I have worked myself almost to the bone in my endeavours to make use of the late conspiracy as the means of securing to the capital at least, and its vicinity, a fair prospect of solid and permanent tranquillity. I think I can now confidently say that this object is nearly accomplished.

We are at the very roots of the conspiracy, and every new light that we gain, convinces us more and more that we were not mistaken in the idea we had formed of the improving state of the country. If, amid the clamour you have heard on the subject, you will not trust a less important witness, you will at least give

credit to Emmet himself, who admitted that when he sat down to write his Proclamation (for the whole was his own, and we have the rough manuscript with the corrections, as the whole proceeded from his brain, all in his own handwriting), that his conscience would not permit him to assign an existing grievance, and that he was obliged to have recourse to the crimes and follies of preceding times. This opinion he confirmed in a very proper letter addressed to me, written an hour before he went to the gallows, in which, among other things, he says that the conduct of the present *Administration*, on which he bestowed high praise, hastened instead of retarding his determination to overthrow the Government. The trial, which I sent you yesterday, as it is well reported in the "Evening Post," will satisfy you that we are in possession of a mass of evidence such as has seldom or ever been produced on a similar occasion.

I can assure you, however, that we did not put forth our whole strength, and that we did not bring forward, out of twenty witnesses that were examined, a single one of whom we had reason to be afraid. Nor among so great a number was there the slightest contradiction, and yet not one of the four who turned king's evidence has had the remotest promise or hope of pardon holden out to him.

Emmet himself was so struck with this, that he observed to his counsel, that though some things were sworn of which he had no knowledge, yet all that was sworn against him of which he had knowledge was so fairly and accurately given, that he gave implicit credit to the rest.

The law-officers have conducted themselves in a manner to gain the full approbation and confidence of the public. They have also shown very distinguished talents, — I mean the Attorney and Solicitor-General *, and Plunkett. The speech of the latter is ill given in the papers which I send you to-night. It was, I understand, most eloquent, and most masterly. It was delivered on purpose to show his entire and unqualified renunciation of his former principles, his determination *on due and mature reflection*, to support the Union after having been its inveterate opposer, and to stand or fall with the present Administration. You may naturally suppose that this is the prelude to closer connection †, and that it will be the death-blow to the anti-Union party at the Bar.

* The Attorney and Solicitor-General were Mr. John Stewart, and Mr. James M'Clelland.

† Mr. Plunkett was made Solicitor-General before the end of the year.

You will be glad to hear that on Rourke's trial, McClelland completely put down George Ponsonby, who was the only one, among six several counsel employed for the prisoners (all more or less of opposition principles), who did not reprobate the insurrection itself, and the pretence of existing grievances. Ponsonby confined himself to the reprobation of the murder of Lord Kilwarden.

You will be greatly surprised when I tell you, that I have in my hand a letter from Mr. Curran, beginning in these words, "I have again to offer His Excellency, my more than gratitude, the feelings of the strongest attachment and respect; to you also, sir, I am most affectionately grateful for the part you have been so kind as to take."*

All this is very comical, but not the less true, and it is equally so, what perhaps you will have heard, that only one man of all concerned in the *present* insurrection that has yet fallen into our hands, was not also concerned in the *last*, and pardoned for his treason.

We have pardoned no man before trial, and only two after conviction; one, the person above mentioned, the other a man who has voluntarily made very useful discoveries, he himself being one of the lowest order.

We have had only one acquittal, owing entirely to a most extraordinary summing up of the Judge (Baron Daly), to which the Jury paid respect, contrary to their own opinion.

We have uniformly refused to enter into any compact with any of them. Even the offers of Rourke and of Redmond were rejected, because they insisted on affixing to them the condition of not being brought forward as witnesses. These gentlemen took their revenge in two very different ways. Rourke tried to make himself pass for a martyr, by protesting his innocence in the most solemn manner; Redmond by shooting himself.

The morning after Emmet's conviction, Luke White waited upon me to say that he would immediately take 500,000*l.* in Exchequer Bills *at par*. And the bargain was forthwith concluded.

So much for our civil proceedings, which will ensure the peace of the country, if the French do not come. But if they do, and in force, God help us! Be assured we are not prepared to meet them.

* Curran's daughter, without his having any idea of the fact, was attached to Emmet (she died of a broken heart not long afterwards). And his house was searched, but it was proved that he had no suspicion of any of Emmet's designs.

Do not cite me for this opinion; I have given it over and over again in the strongest manner, *à qui de droit.* It may justly be thought wrong in me to hold that language to others.

. . . . . Believe me to be

Ever yours most affectionately, W. WICKHAM.

LETTER FROM MR. ROBERT EMMET TO MR. WICKHAM.

September 20th, 1803.

Sir,— Had I been permitted to proceed with my vindication, it was my intention, not only to have acknowledged the delicacy with which I feel with gratitude, that I have been personally treated; but also to have done the most public justice to the mildness of the present administration of this country, and at the same time to have acquitted them, as far as rested with me, of any charge of remissness in not having previously detected a conspiracy, which, from its closeness, I know it was impossible to have done. I confess that I should have preferred this mode, if it had been permitted, as it would thereby have enabled me to clear myself from any imputation under which I might in consequence lie, and to have stated why such an *administration* did not prevent, but, under the peculiar situation of this country, perhaps rather accelerated my determination to make an effort for the overthrow of a *government*, of which I do not think equally highly. However, as I have been deprived of that opportunity, I think it right now to make an acknowledgment which justice requires from me as a man, and which I do not feel to be in the least derogatory from my decided principles as an Irishman.

I have the honour to be, Sir, with the greatest respect,
Your most obedient, humble servant, ROBERT EMMET.

The Right Hon. W. Wickham.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MR. WICKHAM TO MR. ABBOT.

Nov. 30th.

[After detailing the labour the investigation had cost him, he proceeds]—As daylight broke in upon us our opinions gradually changed, and we were astonished how accurately the information received previously to the 23rd July, as to the nature, object, and extent of the conspiracy, and the persons engaged in it, tallied with what turned out to have been the

real history of the Insurrection; nay more, how the very accuracy itself of that information tended naturally to deceive us with respect to the formation of the depôt, or rather to the possibility of any such depôt being formed. . . . .

Now pray attend to what was the nature of the information received from *the channels in which confidence was placed.*

1. That Quigley, a banished traitor, and an inferior leader of the rebellion in the county of Kildare, had come over from France in March last, visited the county, and exhorted the people to arm themselves, and prepare for the coming of the French.

That some of his friends went into the county of Meath for the same purpose. That the people in this latter county were not only adverse to the business, but positively declined having anything to do with it. That the mass of the people in the county of Kildare were as disaffected as ever, and, to a man, ready to rise; but that the principal farmers, who had all been engaged in the last rebellion, declined taking a part in any new disturbance.

The correctness of this information was soon after confirmed by several gentlemen of both counties, whose tenants had informed them of the fact of Quigley's being in the county, and expressed their opinion that, unless he were taken, the counties of Kildare and Meath would be again disturbed. Letters to the above effect from both counties, agreeing in all material points, are in the office.

On this information, Marsden authorised the said gentlemen to offer 300*l.* reward for apprehending Quigley; and was about to repeat and enforce the offer by a government proclamation, but was prevented doing so by the advice and entreaties of the gentlemen themselves, particularly of Colonel Wolfe, who thought that such a measure might put notions of rebellion into the heads of many who as yet had never dreamt of such a thing. *It appeared at the same time certain that Quigley had left the country.*

2. That Russell and Hamilton had returned to Ireland in March, and were about some mischief with young Emmet, Allen, Dowdale, and Stockdale. That they talked of a rising, but that all the disaffected considered such an attempt to be madness, without the assistance of the French. That the country most positively was *not organised anywhere,* except in the county of Kildare, where the old system had never been discontinued. That Russell and Hamilton were going down to the North, for the purpose of raising that county; and *that they were certainly preparing arms in or about Dublin.*

Now observe, that with this evidence, came the most positive assurance from other channels, that Arthur O'Connor, Thomas Emmet, and Dr. McNevin had arrived from Paris, and Neilson from Hamburgh. These four were men of consequence, capable of raising all Ireland; the others, Russell perhaps excepted, were men of no general influence, and of but little comparative estimation. It was asserted, also, that several others of the old rebels of Dublin, who had been pardoned in 1798 and were then in Dublin, were concerned with Allen and Emmet and their companions. The falsity of both these reports was discovered by Marsden; but unfortunately his attention was more directed to these people, as of greater consequence, than to the few who were really conspiring against the State, and whom he knew to be conspiring; but whom he thought, as appeared to be the case by the sequel, quite incapable of doing anything efficient without the aid of the others.

So things went on till the 10th or 12th of July, when Russell and Hamilton went down to the North, and our friends from hence followed them; and, reasoning *à priori* from the character and known talents of the persons concerned, those were the two men among the conspirators whom I should have desired to have had most closely watched.

3. Three days before the insurrection broke out, news came from Belfast that orders had been sent from Dublin to attempt a rising in the North. Positive information was also given here that an attempt would be made in Dublin, at the end of the week; not from people running to the Castle with any news they could collect, but from good intelligence. In consequence of this information, Marsden did write to request that the Habeas Corpus Act should be suspended; but contradictory information was immediately afterwards received from a *safe source.*

But how, you will say, can such a source be called *a safe* source, when the event turned out otherwise?

To this I answer, that the event has proved that the persons who gave the information, and who were persons of note compared with those who took a part in the insurrection, did at that time consider the thing as given up, and that it was in fact so given up by every gentleman, if gentlemen any of them could be called (Emmet excepted), who had taken any share in the business, or to whom it had been communicated.

The truth really is that the insurrection of the 23rd July was Emmet's, and Emmet's alone.

Hamilton and Russell, *deceived by his representations*, and

corresponding with him alone, did attempt to raise the North, than which attempt nothing could have been more futile, or more ridiculous. But in no other quarter was there a finger holden up, except in Kildare and Dublin, nor was there a creature of any consequence in Dublin ever privy to the transaction. . . . .

W. Wickham.

EXTRACT FROM ANOTHER LETTER FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

Dec. 2nd.

"I may say to you in confidence, that much of the concealment of Emmet's project was due to our want of information from France. — Russell and Hamilton should have had all their motions watched in Paris, instead of being suffered to come over with Lord Whitworth's passports.

CHAP. XVII.

PROPOSAL TO FORTIFY LONDON.—SHERIDAN'S MOTION ON THE VOLUNTEERS. — PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT. — PARLIAMENT MEETS AGAIN IN NOVEMBER.—MR. FOX PROTESTS AGAINST THE SYSTEM ADOPTED IN IRELAND. —LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE.—ARMY ESTIMATES.—THE PRINCE OF WALES APPLIES FOR MILITARY EMPLOYMENT. — APPREHENSIONS OF AND PREPARATIONS FOR INVASION.—LETTER FROM MR. WICKHAM.

July 30th.—News of the capture of St. Lucie.

Monday, August 1st.—House of Commons passed the Property Tax Bill without observation.

2nd.—House of Commons. Division at three in the morning upon Mr. Fox's motion for a Military Council; 38 for it, 63 against it. In the course of the debate Colonel Crawford stated that he had conversed over night with General Pichégru, who did not approve of Lord Cathcart's plan for fortifications round London. Mr. Tyrwhitt and several other members urged the giving a forward station and distinguished rank to the Prince of Wales in the military arrangements, H.R.H. having offered his services, which had not been accepted, and that he remained only a Colonel, though the Duke of York was Commander-in-Chief, and each of his other brothers had the rank of a Lieutenant-General. Sir William Erskine, with great animation and display of military knowledge, disputed Colonel Crawford's opinions, and resisted every attempt to make a defence by throwing up lines upon the coast and round the metropolis.

4th.—The Dean of Christ Church came, and mentioned the King's dissatisfaction at not having detailed accounts from the Lord-Lieutenant; I wrote to Lord Hardwicke.

N.B. Government had letters in London from Paris,

dated 12th July, describing exactly the plot which broke out in Dublin, July 23rd.

N.B. Servants drilled to the use of firearms; mine in the Cloister Gardens.

House of Commons. Debate in the Committee on the amended Defence Bill.

5th.—The Lords having doubts upon the Curates Stipend Bill as a tax, Cowper came to me; and I afterwards went to the Chancellor at Lincoln's Inn Hall, and satisfied him that this Bill was not within the rule; nevertheless, in the House of Lords he threw it out on its merits.

House of Commons passed the Defence Amendment Bill.

10th.—House of Commons. Sheridan's motion for thanking the Volunteers; till ten o'clock much debate: voted *nem. con.* Speaker to write letters to the Lord-Lieutenants.

11th.—Mr. Hutchinson's motion upon the state of Ireland, and for information respecting the late occurrences in Dublin; debate till past twelve o'clock; no division. On the same side with Mr. Hutchinson, though on different grounds, were Mr. Wyndham, W. Elliott, Dr. Lawrence, Lord Temple, &c.

12th.—The King came to the House of Lords and prorogued the Parliament.

[During the Parliamentary recess, Mr. Abbot did not continue his diary.* On the 19th of November he returned to town to be ready for the opening of the new session, which took place]

Monday, November 22nd.—The King opened the session. In the House of Commons, after Mr. Ashley and Mr. Burland had moved and seconded the Address, Mr. Fox signified his readiness to concur, explaining

* No events of importance took place in the interval; but the apprehensions of a French invasion excited such a general enthusiasm in all parts of the country, that before the end of August, Mr. Addington estimated the number of volunteers at upwards of 300,000; while the regulars, militia, and army of reserve amounted to 140,000 more. — *Lord Sidmouth's Life,* ii. 226.

himself only on two points: 1st. That he expected some notice to have been taken of the Russian mediation; 2nd. That he warned the House against considering that the present system of governing Ireland was to be considered as a proper and lasting policy. Mr. Addington answered, that the Russian mediation had not produced any successful issue; and that, if ever the Irish question was discussed (which it ought not now to be), he should be ready to state his own sentiments and to hear those of others. The Address was voted unanimously.

23*rd*.—Upon the report of the Address, Mr. Wyndham said a few words expressing his dissatisfaction with the present Ministers for their incompetency. No reply was made to him. The House on the first day contained between 300 and 400 members; and on this day about 200.

The Bishop of Killaloe dined with me; he brought over the papers collected by Mr. Marsden upon the conduct of the Civil Government, on the 23rd of July last. And Mr. Addington to-day showed me General Fox's statement of his own conduct, with an appendix of letters from Mr. Marsden, &c., in the course of the evening of the 23rd. Mr. Addington and Lord Castlereagh both agreed with Mr. Yorke that no good could arise from discussing the question of blame between the Civil and Military Departments; but that it was clear the *whole* of the Government taken together had taken sufficient measures to repress the whole of the Insurrection according to its extent, as proved upon the trials; and that the deaths of Lord Kilwarden, Colonel Browne, &c., were the effects of accident in the tumult, and not of any specific design which could have been counteracted. To me it was evident that the Civil Government had not given sufficient credit to the information they had received; and that General Fox, though excusable for not taking more prompt and extensive measures of precaution, might, with more activity and a truer judgment of his own responsibility, have easily prevented the whole mischief.

28*th.*—It is said that good anchorage for seven ships of the line is found in a bay near Brest, called Douarneney.*

Friday, Dec. 2nd.—Mr. Yorke brought in the two Bills for suspending the Habeas Corpus Act, and for authorising martial law in Ireland.

3*rd.*—Saw Mr. Addington; no prospect of any money being wanted till April, and then 10,000,000*l.* at the most. Sir F. Baring of opinion that Stocks will then be up at 60.

Monday, 5*th.*—Debate on second reading of Irish Martial Law Bill. Speakers: Wyndham, Francis, Col. Crawford, Hutchinson. In opposition to the Administration, but for the Bill. They were answered by Mr. Yorke, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Addington, Mr. Wilberforce, &c.; Dr. Lawrence alone spoke against the Bill: no division.

7*th.*—Mr. Dyson came about my wine supply, as Speaker, from the Board of Green Cloth. Upon inquiry as to the Speaker's right to his chair, it appeared that formerly the House of Commons was furnished every three years by the Lord Chamberlain, but when the reform took place in 1782 this ceased; and the House has not since been new furnished above twice. Mr. Addington, when the House was last furnished, claimed and took away his chair. At Lord Onslow's house in Surrey there are the ten chairs in which Mr. Onslow sat during his two Parliaments.

House of Commons: debate on report of the Irish Martial Law Bill, but no division.

Received the following letter from Lord Redesdale:—

Ely Place, Dublin, Dec. 5th, 1803.

Dear Sir,— . . . I think I can venture to say that the judgment we formed of this country is just; namely, that the

* This anchorage was continually used by the fleet blockading Brest, during the latter part of the war, and obtained among the seamen the name of "Do Nothing Bay."

events of 1798 are deeply impressed on the minds of the lower as well as of the higher orders; and that fear for their property will operate on all who have any property, however small, and fear for their persons on all the rest, except a few desperadoes, and a few enthusiasts and bigots. From the Protestant dissenters, I think there is nothing to fear. The Catholics (the laity) are of three descriptions: the gentlemen, who are generally strongly inclined to monarchy; the new men, many of whom have a strong republican bias; and the vulgar, who are deeply tainted with French revolutionary principles. The priests, who have greatly contributed to give this taint, are now afraid of their own work. They perceive in the abolition of titles, the destruction of their hopes of great temporal establishments, to which they have been fondly looking for some time. They are, therefore, preaching, and, I believe, in general with some sincerity, anti-Gallican doctrines; but mixed with so much of acrimony towards the Protestants, and so little of solid loyalty towards the Government, that I do not think their preaching does much.

The apprehensions for property and personal safety operate more strongly, and, I believe, will greatly prevail. I daily discover, more and more, the ignorance of the people, even in this country, of the true style of the Roman Catholic clergy, and the reason for thinking them formidable. The ignorance in England we have often remarked; but the ignorance here is more surprising. I think eyes begin a little to be opened. Scully's foolish pamphlet, Troy's, and some other pastoral addresses, and looking back to what has been, and what is; have, I think, brought many to feel that the *hope* of a change, excited first for political purposes about fifty years ago, eagerly caught at by the Catholics, pursued and forwarded in various ways, and at a great expense to the body; and, lastly, the sort of terror produced among the Protestants, and the folly of those amongst their own body who have constantly held out to them that, by their own energies, by the fears of Government, and not by any liberality on the part of the Protestants, they have gained what they have; they are astonished and intoxicated with success, far beyond their original hopes; and they are confident that, by perseverance, they shall gain their end, which they privately will allow to be the destruction of the Protestants, and the substitution of Roman Catholic establishments, to which the zealots add, extirpation of the Protestants. All the Roman Catholics, but a few weak well-meaning men, foresee separation from Great Britain as almost an inevitable consequence. Many are unwilling to believe this, though they clearly apprehend it—

many wish it. Some men of liberal minds and large fortunes dread it; and, I think, upon more occasions than one, two or three such men have lately acted upon the same policy which guided the Protestant Dissenters in England, when they submitted to severe laws for fear of the Roman Catholics. I have had an opportunity of knowing that there is so little real liberality amongst these advocates for toleration, that the arguments most prevalent to keep them quiet are founded in apprehension that the Protestant Dissenters must, upon the grounds on which they can offer themselves to Parliament, have whatever can be given to them.

I think, therefore, they mean to be coy; and if Mr. Pitt and his friends were now to offer them all that was intended to be offered to them, on the recommendation of Lord Cornwallis and Lord Castlereagh, they would decline the offer. In fine, that they would accept of nothing but participation in the establishment, if they would take less than the whole. I had related to me lately a conversation between a Roman Catholic gentleman and a Protestant, of an old Roman Catholic family, on this subject (the converted families are considered by the Roman Catholics as only Protestants for convenience), pretty open, though held amongst persons esteemed friends, in which the expectation of the establishment was avowed; and it was asked, why should not the younger sons of Roman Catholic families raise their fortunes in the church, as well as Dr. Stuart, Dr. Brodrick, Dr. Beresford, &c.? This expectation must be repressed, or the country will not be quiet. The idea that improving the education of the priests will make the country more quiet in a political sense, is ridiculous. It may tend to civilise the country, but it will not make the country politically quiet.

It will rather have a contrary tendency; it will tend to increase the *number* of the *ambitious*, and the *ability* of the *ambitious*. Why are the Roman Catholics in the Empress* of Russia's and King of Prussia's dominions quiet? Because they can hope for nothing by disturbance. They may lose; they cannot gain. But give the Roman Catholics of Ireland what you will, until you give them *all* they will *hope* for *all*.

I wonder that such statesmen as Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt, could have thought (if they really thought) otherwise. In fine, the Catholics of Ireland must have no more political power.

* It is a singular proof of the impression that the vigour of the Empress Catharine's Government had made, that Lord R. here speaks of the Empress of Russia, though since her Paul had been, and Alexander now was, Emperor.

They have already so much as to be formidable: and they have daily increased in strength and pretensions from 1753* to 1803. From 1690 to 1753, they were subdued, they had no hope, and they were quiet. You refuse to the *majority* of the people of every country, political power, and you give that power to the *few* who have property. Why? Because, if those who have no property, but have the physical force, had, in addition to their physical force, an equal share of political power, such is the nature of man, that they would soon gain the property of the minor number. So, if in Ireland you *give* to the Roman Catholics an equal share of political power, having superior numbers, they would *take* everything else.

I cannot forbear looking to St. Domingo, and desiring those who argue that, because the Roman Catholics are the most numerous of the inhabitants of Ireland, they ought, therefore, at least to have an equal share of every description of power and emolument in proportion to their numbers, to consider whether this was not the very thing which has desolated that island, deluged it with blood, and will probably extirpate the white inhabitants and proprietors, or drive them from the country, notwithstanding all the efforts of France and all its despotic proceedings to support them. They may be angry at a comparison between the Blacks and the Catholics, or between the *Amis des Noirs* and the friends of universal toleration, as they call themselves. But they cannot give a rational answer to the question; nor indeed can they say why Jews and Mahometans have not right of conscience as sacred as Roman Catholics. The philanthropists have been the bane of the age, from one end of the world to the other. Their supposed philanthropy is mere weakness; it springs from an indolent yielding to sensations implanted in us for wise purposes, but which, if indulged beyond the line of wisdom, will lead to the same excesses as the indulgence of any other passion.

I have been led to trouble you with an immense letter; but this is a subject on which my mind is apt to run a little wild;

* During almost the whole of the reign of George II., the Irish Parliament had been making attempts to emancipate their country from the restraints imposed by Great Britain, through which, and the indulgence of the British Government, by the year 1749, "few proofs remained of their legislative dependence on the Crown" (*Coxe's Pelham*, vol. ii. p. 286); and under the administration of the Duke of Dorset, as Lord-Lieutenant, they carried their pretensions higher, till, in 1752-1753, they omitted the usual clause, "by the previous consent of his Majesty," and in effect successfully asserted the right to apply the surplus of their own revenue to their own national purposes.— *Coxe*, ibid.

strongly impressed with the persuasion that a due consideration of it is the most important to the well-being and almost to the existence of the Protestants of Ireland, and the maintenance of the Union between the two countries: in fine, that Catholic Ireland cannot be English Ireland.

I am yours, my dear Sir, most truly, REDESDALE.

9th. — House of Commons. Reported the acknowledgments of the vote of thanks to the Volunteers. Yorke presented the return of corps and numbers, amounting to 379,900 for the United Kingdom, so far as made up to that time.

Debate on the Army Estimates. Mr. Pitt approved of the outline for estimates for an increase of the regulars to a practicable extent, and of the volunteer numbers, and distribution of arms; recommended their being formed into battalions, having a field officer and adjutant (from the regulars) to discipline them, and giving pay for a number of days beyond twenty-one days; urged the necessity of giving the benefit of exemptions from militia, &c., as held out originally, and bringing in a Bill immediately for that purpose. He also urged the expediency of a Bill after the recess for strengthening the discipline by regulations and fine, &c.

Wyndham, Grenville, and Fox contended against any reliance on the volunteers as arrayed like regulars.

Fox also declaimed upon the King's refusal of rank and command to the Prince of Wales; on the necessity of a military council; and much at large upon General Fox's removal from his command in Ireland, criminating Lord Hardwicke, and exculpating the General.

Yorke replied with great dignity and spirit.

10th. — The House sat, and Yorke brought in a Bill to explain and amend the Volunteer Exemptions.

12th.—House of Commons. Debate on the report of the Army Estimates till eleven o'clock, chiefly on Mr. Pitt's proposition of appointing a field officer to every volunteer battalion of 500 men, and Mr. Wyndham's fundamental objection to the whole volunteer system.

News came that the 23rd demi-brigade at Boulogne had mutinied against the order to embark.

20th.—Read Lord Redesdale's correspondence with Lord Fingal, charging the Irish Catholic priests, and great part of the Catholic body, with adhering to the See of Rome, and, so far, as being disloyal subjects, on their own principles, to a Protestant Government. The fact of adhering to the See of Rome not denied by Lord Fingal; the correspondence originating in Lord Fingal's application to be appointed a Justice of the Peace.

24th.—General Bentham brought me his correspondence with the Admiralty and Navy Board, upon his non-recoil principle of fitting guns and carronades on board merchant vessels, to serve for coast defences.

INVASION.

25th.—Saw Mr. Addington at three o'clock this afternoon, and again at night between ten and eleven. We had two long and interesting conversations. The substance was as follows:—

From France, news dated Paris, Sunday 18th, was received in London on Thursday last, the 22nd, that the French troops were all in motion; that Buonaparte was on the point of leaving Paris; that the army of reserve at Compiégne was marching for the coast; that the Military Préfect of Paris (Duroc) was marching with 15,000 men for Brest; that the French were slaughtering oxen at Bordeaux, for the immediate victualling of their fleet; that 5 sail of the line and 70 transports were ready to sail from the Texel, and 15 sail, with 150 transports, were ready for sea at Brest; that Christmas-day was the time appointed for sailing; and that the army at Boulogne was expected to wait till the Irish expedition had sailed and landed, before they made their attempt to cross the Channel.

Our naval preparations stood thus:—Thornborough with 5 sail of the line, and frigates, off the Texel. Sir

Sidney Smith and frigates watching Flushing. Lord Keith and 6 sail of the line in the Downs; besides 6 blockships fit for Channel service, lying at the Nore; a cruising squadron of frigates and lesser ships of war in the Straits; 5 sail of the line at St. Helens; Sir James Saumarez cruising with frigates off La Hogue, Jersey, &c.; Admiral Cornwallis with 15 sail of the line off Brest; a ship of the line and frigates off L'Orient; Sir Edward Pellew with 5 sail of the line off Ferrol; besides a frigate watching Bordeaux, and Sir Richard Strahan with a ship of the line off Cadiz; Lord Gardner with 5 sail on the coast of Ireland.

Admiral Cornwallis's rendezvous off the Lizard, in case of his fleet being blown off Brest, so as to go for Ireland, and to follow the French up Channel, if they get out in either direction; should the French run for the Downs, the 5 sail at Spithead would also follow them, and Lord Keith would, in addition to his 6 and 6, have the North Sea fleet also at his command.

Army. Lord Cornwallis had been sent for, and was expected on Monday, to take the command of the central army, being the real reserve of Volunteers and all the producible force of the kingdom, in case the French made any impression on the coast.

The King's plan to move to Chelmsford if the landing was in Essex, or to Dartford if in Kent, taking with him Mr. Addington and Mr. Yorke of the Cabinet.

The Queen, &c. to remove to the Palace at Worcester.

The Bank books to be moved to the Tower, and the duplicate books, and treasure to the Cathedral at Worcester; in thirty waggons, under Sir Brook Watson's management, escorted from county to county by the Volunteers.

The merchants to shut up the Stock Exchange.

The artillery and stores from Woolwich to be transported inland, by the Grand Junction Canal.

The press to be prohibited from publishing any account of the King's troops, or of the enemy, but by

authority from the Secretary of State, to be communicated officially twice a day to all newswriters, indiscriminately who may apply for it. Else their presses to be seized and their printers imprisoned.

The Privy Council to be sitting in London, to issue all Acts of Government. Other attending ministers to be the Duke of Portland, the Chancellor, Lord Hawkesbury, Lord St. Vincent, together with Lord Rosslyn, the Master of the Rolls, Sir William Scott, &c.

Lord Castlereagh to go to his Militia Regiment in Ireland, &c.

26*th.*—No news to-day from the coast, except that the gale had not done any material damage at Portsmouth.

Lord Cornwallis arrived and accepted the charge intended for him.

No further news from France, except through Ireland, where the expectation of an immediate invasion prevailed strongly.

Amongst other measures, if the French land here in force, the Exchequer will be removed as well as the Bank, and the suspected persons will be immediately arrested.

27*th.*—No news. An eyewitness has given an account of Buonaparte's review of the flotilla at Boulogne in November, where 100 gunboats, manœuvring in the outer road, were driven in by a gale. Ten of them kept at sea all night, and five were driven on shore, and all the people drowned.

28*th.*—Money transactions in the City go on more favourably every day, although the appearances of invasion are stronger, and the expected issue of dollars, it is thought, will bring back the hoarded silver into circulation. Alderman Rowcroft's account of trade to Lord Castlereagh is, that colonial produce is readily and easily carried into the Dutch ports. East India produce with less facility, and British manufactures with some difficulty. But they are nevertheless exported to the continent. The ordinary insurance is 4 per cent.;

whereof 3 per cent. is for sea risk only, and the extra 20*s.* cover all the rest of the difficulties of delivery; but for 8 per cent. the delivery may be made, if required, directly to a French agent.

The news from Wickham to-day is that McCabe, a principal Irish rebel, is arrived at Belfast with intelligence that the fleet from the Texel will sail for the north of Ireland, and the Brest fleet for the south of Ireland, by the very first favourable wind.

Admiral Cornwallis's fleet is blown off its station and much dispersed. Nine of his ships are accounted for; several of them have come in to be refitted.

29*th.*—No news to-day of Admiral Cornwallis, or of our fleet upon the Dutch coast. Admiral Colpoys, Port Admiral at Portsmouth, has 10 sail ready for sea.

30*th.*—No ship news from the Dutch coast or continent. Admiral Cornwallis is supposed to have been seen on Tuesday off the Lizard, returning to his station. No news from Ireland.

Ordnance department in Ireland completely supplied, all the troops armed. 18,000 stand of arms in reserve. English field train 600 pieces mounted, and 150 in reserve at Woolwich, ready to march. The supply of muskets slow. London supplies not more than 500 per week. None come from Birmingham, nor from the continent. Apprehension that they will be bad when they come.

The Ordnance have reported in favour of the non-recoil principle of mounting guns for the Navy.

Lord Cornwallis's opinions and advice highly serviceable since he came to London.

31*st.*—Admiral Cornwallis seen off the Ramhead on the 29th, with two more threedeckers, steering for his former station. All his ships accounted for, and none materially damaged.

No news from the Dutch coast or France.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER OF MR. WICKHAM, DATED DECEMBER 25TH.

Under the instructions which Lord Cathcart* has received, which have been transmitted here and sanctioned by the Secretary of State, and under the *construction which the military men here* put upon them, it is impossible for the Lord-Lieutenant to be responsible for the peace and safety of the country.

The Lord-Lieutenant has no orders to give.

This is the real state of things, respecting which, at the moment, *all circumstances considered*, it is perhaps better that nothing should be said.

With the enemy at our gates, we ought not to be fighting among ourselves.

P.S.—On the subject of Lord Cathcart's instructions, as I have mentioned them to you, I ought to tell you that they were strongly objected to here, but that assurances were thereupon given by Mr. Addington and Mr. Yorke that the Duke of York and Lord Cathcart had both most unequivocally acknowledged the supremacy of the Lord-Lieutenant, so that the instructions could not possibly bear the construction which we *were* disposed to give them. To this assurance Yorke added the private advice to his brother, "that it would be more desirable for him to resign at once, and recommend *himself* that the whole Government, civil and military, should be put into the same hands, than to introduce at the present moment any discussion on the subject of Lord Cathcart's instructions."

Lord Cathcart, however, soon after his arrival did give me a convincing proof that he considered himself bound by his instructions, and that he did not conceive himself subject to receive orders from the Lord-Lieutenant. This fact I concealed from the Lord-Lieutenant and from the Chancellor. They are now acquainted with it. Under the private advice above given, I say this is a point to be discussed privately between the two brothers.

* The new Commander of the Forces in Ireland.

CHAP. XVIII.

1804.

ACTIVITY OF OUR FLEET UNDER ADMIRALS CORNWALLIS AND NELSON. — LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE ON CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION. — THE KING ILL, BUT RECOVERS. — THE GRENVILLES BEGIN TO UNITE WITH FOX. — PITT'S MOTION FOR PAPERS ON THE NAVAL DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY. — ADDINGTON SEEKS SUPPORT FROM THE PRINCE OF WALES'S PARTY.

MONDAY, Jan. 2nd.—Admiral Cornwallis came into Torbay on Saturday, and sailed yesterday to take with him 11 sail from Plymouth to Brest. This was his first return to port since May, 1803.

6th. News of to-day. Capture of 5 gunboats by the Immortalité, in the straits of Dover. Surrender of 4000 French troops at St. Domingo, carried into Jamaica.

7th.—Admiral Cornwallis has found the French fleet lying at Brest, as before. The Admiral began his cruise off Brest on the 16th May; came into Torbay by stress of weather 31st December, and sailed again for Brest on the 15th of January, where he arrived the next day.

8th. — Sir Evan Nepean has consented to go to Ireland as Secretary (in the room of Wickham, who has resigned) when Lord Hardwicke's consent is received; and to be ready to set off this day fortnight.

Lord Cornwallis is to be second in command, and be with the King, but his appointment, by his desire, not to take place till things are nearer.

A Bishop wanted amongst the heads of Houses at Cambridge. Mansel is recommended. I suggested Paley or Gisborne, as names fit to be considered. Mr. Pitt had formerly wished to make Paley a Bishop, but there were objections to his political opinions which then prevented it.

LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE.

[Private.] Arduin, Jan. 12th, 1804.

My dear Sir,—I am happy to find you agree with me in opinion with respect to Protestants and Catholics in Ireland. I find no *reformed* person, not biassed by particular interests or passions, who is of a different opinion, and I am persuaded that if I could once get Mr. Pitt in Ireland, and disposed to consider the subject dispassionately, he would lament that he went so far. From many circumstances I am persuaded that the *force* of Protestants *united* is the superior force, and I think the majority of the Northern Dissenters now see clearly that their interest is not union with the Catholics, and that Catholic emancipation would be their destruction as well as that of the Established Church, if they did not both exert themselves to prevent their common ruin. But what is Catholic emancipation? I can get no man to tell me. You have probably seen in the papers a gross misrepresentation of a correspondence into which I was led with Lord Fingal, by entertaining an opinion that his integrity was unquestionable. I have found, however, that in a weakminded and bigoted man integrity is easily overcome by designing persons, so far as to make it highly imprudent to rely on such a man. I dare say, no art could draw Lord Fingal into rebellion, or even into any manifestly dishonourable act; but it has been easy to prevail on him to disclose a private correspondence, and give it to the public, not indeed in print, but in written copies, so numerous as to be almost as easily circulated, and more liable to misrepresentation. I have endeavoured to learn from his Lordship what he desires, and I find it to be an indescribable something "to be conceded to the Roman Catholics, without danger to the Protestant Establishment." Now the lower orders have everything which can be conceded without danger to the Protestant Establishment. What then can *they* want more? Plunder — exemption from tithes, which is plunder — lands, in the true system of Mr. Spence, the author of Pig's-meat, a countryman and an old friend of Lord Eldon. These, of course, are the worst sort of the lower order; but what do the better sort want? I believe, if their priests would let them alone they want nothing. But what do the priests want? The lower orders amongst them want tithes, glebehouses, &c.; the higher sigh for episcopal palaces, gorgeous apparel, equipages, &c., — and power,—that is, power openly exercised, for they do exercise power, and far from secretly, in breach of all the old laws of the

realm before the Reformation. Divorces they particularly grant for money, and for the purposes of influence, and their scandalous conduct with respect to marriages makes legitimacy often a very doubtful question in a Catholic family, and that son is legitimate from whom the priest expects most. Some regulation by law with respect to marriages in this country is absolutely necessary. The existing laws have been contrived so that they might be evaded, and must have been formed either profligately or ignorantly. My wards are continually carried off, and whether married or not I frequently find difficult to discover. But in some instances the illegality of the marriage alleged is clear, and I generally require a second marriage to prevent disputes on legitimacy. The general profligacy of this country, derived partly from the corruption of their Parliament, and partly from the corruptions of the Catholic Church, which is less reformed here than in any Catholic country in Europe, is astonishing to an Englishman. Compensation is required for everything, and enormous compensation. Desire an apothecary to attend a poor labourer; he charges enormously for medicines, and five shillings a day for attendance. An apothecary at the Black Rock thought me shabby for not giving more than five shillings a day for attending a poor man at Stellarogue in a twenty-one-day fever. I desired him to consider that, if he had five persons constantly under his care, his salary for attendance, besides his charge for medicine, would be 450*l.* a year.

Time will, I trust, correct this with other enormities. Our very charity children are brought up to be fit for nothing but rogues and whores; the boys are only taught what leads them to forgery, and the girls what leads them to the streets and an hospital. What do you think of our ladies, governesses of the foundling hospital, not letting the girls assist in cleaning the house, because they did not like to see them dirty? This hospital is rapidly improving under the care of the Bishop of Derry, who is a very useful man, and the support of it is, I think, a great national object, as a nursery for Protestants. They want Parliamentary assistance, and I think it ought to be given with this view. It breeds up as Protestants a number of children, the greater part of whom would otherwise perish, or be bred Papists. . . . . Very truly yours, Redesdale.

17*th.*—The King had a slight attack of the gout in his foot.

18*th.*—Called at the Queen's house to make inquiries after the King's health. Answer that he was better.

In the course of the day he walked about for an hour or two.

19*th.*—The squadron opposed to the Boulogne flotilla consists of five frigates, with sloops of war, &c., anchored off Dungeness, which sail upon every east wind, and anchor in Boulogne Roads.

24*th.*—Met Dent, who told me that no stone had been left unturned to prevail on Mr. Pitt to take a decided part, and join in an opposition to the present Administration; but, as yet, he had not declared himself for that system, though extremely bitter against their conduct.

30*th.*—Dined at Batt's; he told me from Wm. Courtenay, that Canning had been so much hurt with the statement in Peregrine Courtenay's pamphlet, called "A plain Answer to the Cursory Remarks," "that Mr. Pitt had disapproved his conduct," that, by dint of solicitation, he had prevailed on Mr. Pitt to interpose and authorise an alteration in those passages, after four editions had been published of the original pamphlet.

31*st.*—Sir Francis Burdett came about the petition of Middlesex freeholders against his election, stating a question which he was advised to make upon the informality of the petition, inasmuch as the petitioners did not "claim therein a right to vote at such election," but only described themselves to be freeholders. Mr. Warren, his counsel, had within these few days started the objection, and Mr. Fox thought it a valid objection. He wished to know in what mode he could bring it on, and it was agreed that I should give him my opinion to-morrow; the ballot standing for Thursday.

Upon looking into the forms of these petitions in the Parliament of 1796, all state themselves in some way or other to *claim* a right of voting; and so in the present Parliament, except in two cases already passed by in which the objection had not been noticed, and in one more (Hereford City) yet to come.

N.B.—Lord Thurlow, during the Middlesex election, used the most earnest solicitation to prevail on Cator

to vote for Sir Francis Burdett, who nevertheless could only be prevailed upon to be neutral.

Wednesday, Feb. 1st.—Attended Board for Reduction of National Debt. The sinking fund supplies 1,500,000*l.* to be laid out in the next quarter, and the capital stock redeemed is above 100,000,000*l.*

The Governor of the Bank produced Mr. Bolton's pattern dollar, a most beautiful coin produced by merely stamping an old dollar afresh under his powerful engine, and containing the exact silver of the old dollar without addition or abatement. Seventy are struck in a minute, and the whole charge of work, coinage, guard, &c. is less than one farthing per dollar. By a magnifying glass the impression of the original dollar may be traced upon the surface of the altered coin and this affords a great security against counterfeits.

In the House of Commons which met this day for the first time after the Recess, Mr. Fox gave notice of his motion to discharge the order for hearing the Election Petition of the *Freeholders* of Middlesex, as not satisfying the words of 28 G. III. cc. 52, 81, which requires such a petition to be subscribed by persons "claiming therein to have had a right to vote at the election," &c.

2nd.—In the House, the Freeholders' Petition was moved by Mr. Fox to be discharged, but the motion was negatived; 96 to 24.

Mr. Grenville spoke against Mr. Fox's motion.

12th.—Mr. Jodrell, brother to Sir Paul Jodrell, physician to the Nabob of Arcot, brought over a Persian letter, enclosed in a gold tissue bag, from Siefful Mulk, claiming to be Nabob of the Carnatic, as brother and next heir to the late Nabob. He had received similar letters for the King, the Prince of Wales, the Chancellor, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Lord Cornwallis.

13th.—Debate in the House of Commons upon Irish Currency and Exchange. Lord Henry Petty distinguished himself very much. It was his first speech, and wholly in reply to Mr. Corry.

14*th.* — The King, whose attack of the gout had at first appeared to be slight, though it had never completely left him, appears to have been worse lately; and yesterday the fever was very high. He talked for five hours incessantly last night. His head at times much affected. He did not get to sleep till this morning.

15*th.* — The King to-day no better. On Thursday last he was apparently well at the Council. On Friday he is said to have drunk cold water, and to have been worse since. Last night he slept two hours. His legs have swelled, but do not appear to have enlarged in the last twenty-four hours. His pulse about 80. His mind much affected; but his animal functions not deranged.

16*th.* — Called on Mr. Addington, but did not see him.

The Cabinet were sitting, and the physicians going into the room.

Mr. Addington was with the Prince of Wales at eleven.

The Bulletin of to-day was "That no material alteration had taken place since yesterday." The King slept two hours last night, and his legs were scarified.

17*th.* — Saw Mr. Addington for the first time since the King's illness. The King had foreseen his illness coming on, and had made arrangements in case of his death. For a short time he suffered a sort of paralysis, which created great apprehensions for his life; but there soon appeared no ground for that alarm. The disorder has now taken the decided character of a complete mental derangement. His health, however, is better now than it was at the commencement of his illness in 1801. The Willises have not yet been introduced; that remains to be done. Mr. Addington desired me to contradict absolutely the assertion in the public papers that he, Mr. Addington, had been averse to the Willises being introduced. On the contrary, he had from the first said that, so soon as it was said to be proper, he would take them in his own carriage. The Queen and family

had put themselves entirely in the hands of the Minister, and the Cabinet Council had examined the physicians. It remained only now to ascertain what was the probable duration of the disorder. If it should appear to be permanent, or of considerable duration, a Regency must ensue. That he had completely made up his own mind upon the business; and that, so soon as matters were put into a settled train, he would tell me the whole state of his mind on all that had passed. Copies had been kept of all his letters; and Lord Castlereagh, and Lord Hawkesbury with him, had drawn up a narrative of the whole progress of what had passed. The Willises were now waiting in his (Mr. Addington's) house.

Bulletin: "That the King had several hours' sleep in the night, and appeared much refreshed to-day."

In the House of Commons, Mr. Addington told me that the going of the Willises to the Queen's house was postponed unavoidably.

18*th*. — The Bulletin was, "The King is much the same as yesterday; but we do not apprehend danger."

Mr. Addington and Mr. Yorke both mentioned to me that the King's mind was at this time completely deranged, although there was every reason to believe from past experience that his illness would not be of long duration. Mr. Addington seemed to think that the public business might go on without a Regency until within a week of the Mutiny Bill requiring the Royal Assent, viz. the 25th March, unless events from France should make it suddenly proper to expedite it.

19*th*. — To-day I had it from unquestionable authority that Mr. Fox had, upon the invitation of the Grenvilles, agreed to join them in Parliamentary measures; and had written to his friends to know if they would support him; Erskine had not yet returned an answer.

Bulletin: "The King is better to-day."

Colonel McMahon told me that the Prince had lost eighty-four ounces of blood in his last illness; but was *now quite well.*

20*th*. — Saw Mr. Addington. The King is recovering fast; and had yesterday a long interval of reason and composure, but has every day the strait waistcoat. He has always expressed an opinion, when well, that the Willises used him with unnecessary rigour. He submits cheerfully to the restraints which he believes to be necessary, and is perfectly contented under the management of Dr. Simmonds, of St. Luke's Hospital, who now attends him. Dr. Simmonds says, that relapses in this disorder are frequent, and many persons return to St. Luke's at intervals; but that the attack is always slighter upon each successive fit. Dr. Warder before his death said that the King would have these, but that each would be weaker than the preceding.

The Prince has repeatedly seen Mr. Addington, but nothing has passed upon political subjects; and the Prince has professedly abstained from them. He is by no means well.

The Grenvilles have made overtures to Mr. Fox, who has acceded, but many of his party declare that they will in that case separate from him. So have said the Duke of Norfolk, Sheridan, Erskine, and others.* Mr. Pitt palliates the conduct of the Grenvilles, though he does not join them, and declares what his own line will be. He speaks with great spleen and ill-humour of the measures of the Government.

21*st*. — House of Commons adjourned for want of 100 Members.

The King is "the same as the last two days." He slept six hours last night. Lord Castlereagh told me that the physicians had said the Chancellor might have seen him to-day, and would have found him, to all appearance, as well in understanding as before his illness.

Yesterday Sheridan obtained from the Prince of

* It would seem from Moore's Life of Sheridan, vol. ii. c. xix., that a formal remonstrance against this junction was drawn up by Erskine, and numerously signed, and presented to Fox by the Duke of Norfolk.

Wales the Receivership of the Duchy of Cornwall, vacant by the death of Lord Eliot, worth 2000*l.* a year; but the Prince had before given it to General Lake in reversion, by a deed now in the possession of General Lake's brother, which he produced.*

22*nd.* — The King to-day better. Had six hours' sleep last night.

I sent heads of a Bill to amend the Election Committee Laws for Mr. Ley's consideration, to remedy a few inconveniences experienced in our ballots of last year and the present, including such of Mr. Grenville's suggestions as were proposed in his Bill of 1795, but which never passed, except his proposal of reducing the committees from 15 to 11, the accession of Members by the Union making it now less necessary.

23*rd.* — Saw Mr. Addington. The junction of the Grenville and Fox party is called by them a co-operation. Their language is, that they mean to turn out the present Administration, that the King may be *free* to choose *other* Ministers. They have none to propose. This was my intelligence, and he had heard the same.

Mr. Pitt has recently acknowledged to Lord Chatham that he had no ground of complaint against Mr. Addington; and, through Steele, had sent a private assurance that he entertained no feeling whatever of personal hostility, but it was wished on both sides that this understanding should not be made public, lest cabals might be set on foot.

The King, by the private accounts, had a good night, but is rather hurried this morning. The public account was that he was much the same as yesterday; and Sir Francis Milman said he was to-day "perfect wisdom."

24*th.* — House of Commons. Last day of receiving private petitions; 172 this session. Average about 200; last year 300. The profits of the Clerk of the House of Commons last year amounted to above 12,000*l.*

25*th.* — The King much as yesterday.

* It appears, however, from *Moore's Life of Sheridan*, vol. ii. c. xix., that Sheridan enjoyed the office.

26*th*. — This day was remarkable for a prayer issued by the Archbishop of Canterbury with a thanksgiving "for the hope and prospect of His Majesty's speedy recovery;" and a bulletin issued by the physicians, that "His Majesty is going on favourably: though any *rapid* amendment is *not* to be expected."

Both were issued without any previous communication to the Ministers; and produced an extraordinary effect, as the fact was that the King was really much better.

The prayer upon such occasions has usually been submitted to the Privy Council, and issued by royal authority: no other being competent to alter or add to the Liturgy. But the Archbishop's declining state of mind appeared to have made him forget the proper course; and a message was sent to him from the Ministers to-day, by Sir Wm. Scott, and Sir Wm. Wynn, remonstrating, and restraining such proceedings for the future.

The physicians, when they came to the Ministers, were much surprised to find that their words were understood to import an opinion that the King's illness was likely to be of long duration, and that they had laid the ground for some proceedings in Parliament by those who would so understand the bulletin. They stated that, so little was that their meaning, that they had actually prepared two forms, the first of which would have been, that His Majesty was in a progressive state of recovery; but that they had adopted the latter from a desire to repress any overhasty expectation in the public; and they added that, at this very time the King was perfectly competent to any act of government; although it was prudent not to put him to any exertion that was unnecessary.

A singular proof of the King's minute recollection and attention to the details of his household occurred this very day, for in the morning he desired Dr. Simmonds to send some orders to the stables about transferring some of his Hanoverian horses from London

to Kew; and Dr. Simmonds having purposely declined delivering this verbal message, and requesting His Majesty to give his orders in writing (that the King might be put to this sort of exertion), pen and ink and paper were sent in to his apartment, and he gave very particular directions about these horses by their names, &c. The Chancellor took a copy of the letter, and forwarded the original to its destination.

27*th.* — Saw Mr. Addington. A letter from the Duke of Cumberland arrived, pressing the propriety of not suffering the physicians to give accounts worse than the reality would justify.

In the House of Commons, Sir Robert Lawley moved an adjournment upon the ground of the King's presumed incapacity to act. Mr. Addington asserted that there was no necessary impediment to his Majesty's exercising his royal functions. The question was spoken to by Mr. Fox, Mr. Grenville, and Mr. Pitt, but no division.

Debate upon the second reading of the Volunteer Bill till three o'clock in the morning; but no division. General discussion on the defence of the country.

This day the physicians were examined by the Cabinet. Mr. Addington read to me the written minute of their examination. They all agreed that the King was perfectly competent to do any act of government, although, if it required much previous argument and long discussion, it might fatigue him. And so far it was prudent to avoid it if possible; that, although it might fatigue him, he was clearly able to transact it; and, if he went on for the next ten days as he had for the last ten days, he would be perfectly well.

28*th.*—Bulletin. "We entertain the same favourable opinion of His Majesty's progress towards recovery as yesterday."

29*th.* —." His Majesty is nearly the same to-day as he was yesterday."

LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Ely Place, Dublin, Feb. 27th, 1804.

Dear Sir,—I am much obliged to you for your kind information. I hope the King's recovery will proceed without interuption; and that his health will be fully re-established. It is unpleasant to learn that some attempts will be made to bring the question of Regency into discussion. It cannot be agitated without producing what every well-disposed person must wish to avoid.

You seem to apprehend that Dr. Duigenan may, upon his Bill, say something which you would wish not to be said. If provoked I think he may be indiscreet, and probably very violent; but, unless thwarted, I think he will confine himself to his subject. I think, however, his Bill will not put an end to the evil. You propose to enact that no person shall be admitted to orders in Ireland before the age required by the law of England. But orders may be given in the Isle of Man or in America, and every improper person who is refused orders in Ireland, goes to the Isle of Man, and is ordained by Bishop Crigan. This is an evil which requires remedy. I think it would be done by enacting that no person who has received orders out of England or Ireland, shall officiate as a clerk in holy orders, according to the rites and ceremonies of the United Church of England and Ireland, unless such person shall have received confirmation of orders from a bishop of England or Ireland; for which purpose such bishop shall previously examine such person, and declare his fitness for the ministry.

This will have the effect also of preventing Roman Catholic priests here, who have been for improper conduct suspended from exercise of religious functions by their own Church, pretending to conform, and then acting as clerks in orders of the United Church. Most of the couple beggars, as they are called, are of this description; and, when they marry Protestants, call themselves clergymen of the Established Church; and when they marry Catholics, call themselves Roman Catholic priests.

The law of marriage in this country is in a dreadful state, and requires much reform. The legitimacy of half the country is at the mercy of the priests, who make this a great source both of influence and revenue. For they hold their Ecclesiastical Courts (contrary to their oath) as regularly as if they were the Established Clergy of the land; and pronounce sentences for and against marriages, and sentences of divorce, &c. &c., with appeals to

Rome, for all which they are handsomely paid. I cannot help thinking that marriage ought to be so far regulated by law, that the fact of marriage ought to be clearly ascertained. It gives civil rights; it determines the legitimacy of children, and, so far, no man of sense can pretend to say that the legislature ought not to interfere. Why not require every marriage to be registered somewhere? And if the law allows marriage by Roman Catholic priests to be a good marriage, why not enact that a marriage once so solemnised, shall not be dissolved without the authority of the legislature? I believe the Roman Catholic priests would clamour against this, and cry out that the Great Diana would be set at nought. But is the Parliament of George III. to be afraid of doing what the Parliaments of Henry II., Edward I., Edward III., and Richard II. did not hesitate to do? It appears to me that Government has been strangely bullied, noodled, duped, and misled for the last fifty years, on this subject. The rascals of different parties about that time discovered that the physical force of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, aided by the wildness of modern philosophy, commonly called liberality and philanthropy, might be used as a great political engine to batter the works of the opposite party; and all parties in their turns have been weakly sacrificing themselves as well as their opponents, to this idol.

It is time the country should recover its senses on this point as well as on others. It is high time when we are told by the Roman Catholics themselves that they expect everything from their own energies. The day is fast approaching when we must say, you shall go no further, or we must perish. I think it ought now to be said; for, in the present temper of the Catholics, I think one jot more cannot safely be yielded to them; and I believe half their supporters in England would think so too, if they knew what would stare them in the face if they came to Ireland.

I am sure the Protestants are *now* the strongest party, though the least numerous; and if Government will *now* be firm, the errors of past times may be retrieved. . . . . .

Very affectionately yours,

REDESDALE.

Thursday, March 1st.—"His Majesty is better to-day than he was yesterday."

2nd.—"His Majesty is going on favourably."

3rd.—"No material alteration to-day."

I attended a Committee of the Privy Council upon coin. It was agreed to recommend to the Bank to issue

Bolton's re-coined dollars, varying the reverse of the coin, and putting upon it, "Bank of England dollar, to be taken for five shillings." Also directed an engineer, whom Sir Joseph Banks should recommend, to examine the Tower process of coining, and Bolton's improved machinery; and report upon the means and expense of introducing a better mode of coining at the Mint.

4th.—"His Majesty is better than he was yesterday."

Mr. Yorke sent me Lord Hardwicke's case in answer to General Fox's statement. Lord Hardwicke, in his statement, detailed all the particulars of the information given to General Fox, in the afternoon of the 23rd of July. And the rest of the statement, taken apparently from Sir Charles Asgill's communication, made General Fox's inactivity wholly inexcusable.

5th.—"His Majesty is going on very favourably towards a recovery."

Yesterday, the Chancellor, as I learnt from Mr. Addington, was with him; and to-day Mr. Addington saw him. In each House of Parliament the King's consent was given to Bills in which the interest of the Crown was concerned.

6th.—"The King going on favourably." In the House of Commons. Committee on Volunteer Bill.

7th.—Dr. Simmonds's private note to Mr. Addington was, "that he had the happiness to say His Majesty was better to-day than at any time since his illness."

House of Commons. Sir John Wrottesley's motion for an inquiry into the conduct of the Irish Government previous to and on the 23rd of July. Mr. Pitt stayed away. Mr. Fox and his friends, Mr. Grenville and his friends, Canning, Sir Henry Mildmay, Sturges, &c., divided for the motion, 82; against it, 178. In the debate frequent reference was made to Lord Redesdale's correspondence with Lord Fingal, which Mr. Canning, Mr. Fox, Mr. Wyndham, &c., censured as indiscreet and injudicious on the part of Lord Redesdale; erroneous in opinion, and mischievous in policy. The Attorney-General defended Lord Redesdale.

8*th.*—Bulletin: "No material alteration to-day."

9*th.*—Bulletin: "Going on favourably." Royal assent by commission given to several public and private Acts.

House of Commons. On Irish Permanent Duties, a debate. Mr. Foster objected to the proceeding as affecting the rights of the Crown, without the King's consent. Committee put off till to-morrow. Mr. Grey doubted the sufficiency of the King's recovery; but no reply was made.

The embargo laid by us on all ships, except for distant voyages, relates to the projected blocking up of the entrance of Boulogne Harbour. The boats there are supposed to be about 800, and twenty-five seamen per boat. The troops encamped on the coast are about 30,000.

11*th.*—"His Majesty is better to-day than at any time since the commencement of his illness."

12*th.*—House of Commons. Committee on Irish duties, and afterwards on Volunteer Bill. Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, Mr. Grey, Mr. Sheridan, and the Grenvilles divided, 69, upon a clause against Mr. Addington, &c., who divided 126.

14*th.*—His Majesty recovers daily. House of Commons: motions respecting the war in Ceylon and the Mahratta War.

15*th.*—"His Majesty advances towards a recovery." House of Commons: Mr. Pitt's motion for papers upon the naval defence of the country. Upon the contested papers, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and the Grenvilles divided for the motion, 130; Mr. Addington (with the Prince of Wales's friends *), 201. Rose at two o'clock.

* Some of those more especially reckoned as the Prince's friends, such as Sheridan and Erskine, were about this time offered office by Addington. Erskine would have willingly become Attorney-General had not the Prince, on being consulted by him, made such a reply, as (while professing to leave it to Erskine's own judgment) showed his disapprobation of such a step, and it is probable that it was only the knowledge of His Royal Highness's secret feelings on the subject that prevented Sheridan from joining the Ministry. The Prince, however, had approved of the remonstrance presented to Fox by the Duke of Norfolk. — *Moore's Sheridan*, vol. ii. c. xix.

19*th*.—Saw Mr. Addington upon the Bishop of Oxford's proposed Bill for allowing colleges to purchase livings without the restriction imposed by the Mortmain Act, to which he professed his goodwill if approved by the Chancellor and Sir William Scott.

House of Commons. Report of the Volunteer Bill; division upon a clause; for Mr. Pitt's amendment, 56; against it, 179. Another division afterwards upon another amendment by Sir John Wrottesley. For the amendment, 37; against it, 79.

CHAP. XIX.

1804.

LETTER FROM LORD HARDWICKE ON ENGLISH PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS. — MR. ABBOT'S REPLY. — FROM THE BISHOP OF MEATH ON IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL PROMOTIONS. — MR. DRAKE'S IMPRUDENCE. — MR. PITT WITHDRAWS HIS SUPPORT FROM ADDINGTON. — THE BUDGET. — THE PRINCE OF WALES SUPPORTS THE OPPOSITION.

LETTER FROM LORD HARDWICKE TO MR. ABBOT.

Dublin Castle, March 16th, 1804.

My dear Sir, — I am much obliged to you for your note of the 9th, and most sincerely rejoice that the favourable account which it contained of the King's health has been succeeded by others that I trust have by this time left little doubt of a complete recovery. His Majesty's illness has however given the different parties of Opposition a motive for rallying their forces which probably would not otherwise have existed; and it is much to be regretted that the state of parties should be so very unfavourable, and that public affairs should be in so critical a state. A strong, or at least an able Opposition, and a protracted war, without the immediate prospect of any decisive event, or of any turn in our favour upon the Continent, cannot fail to add to the anxieties of the King, and to render the situation of the Ministers very embarrassing. The attack upon the Admiralty will, I fear, be followed up by other motions, though possibly by none which will be so strongly pressed. The motion on the insurrection in Dublin was not well chosen, if it was intended as a trial of strength; and, as far as respects numbers, it was certainly satisfactory. It has not, however, contributed to give on this side of the water an idea that the Ministers are as anxious to support their friends as good policy seems to require; and this has arisen from the style of defence adopted by Lord Castlereagh, who spoke first on the side of Government, and whose speech was certainly a defence and vindication of General Fox and the military precautions taken on the 23rd July. This, I understand, is the opinion generally expressed in the letters

of the Irish Members to their friends in Dublin, and is attributed to the system originally adopted of making a general defence, and considering General Fox as a party attacked.

If the General had acted with the Ministers instead of coming forward as an accuser and an injured party, this system might have been very fair, and might have answered the purpose; but, as the event has proved, the great unwillingness that has been manifested to meet the inquiry, and the too great anxiety to avert it, has induced the Opposition to bring it forward as a ground of attack upon the Administration, and the latter have been hampered and embarrassed by the line originally taken. I did not know, till you were so good as to mention it, that you had expressed your opinion in favour of putting General Fox's statement into my hands. I have never very well known how I ought to proceed to obtain a sight of it, but that it would have been fair in General Fox to have sent it to me, and that the Ministers should have made a point of it with the Duke of York, who lent it to Mr. Addington, is perfectly certain. Of General Fox I do not feel personally that I have any other reason to complain; for, as to his want of alertness on the evening of the 23rd, I think privately it was in great measure owing to Colonel Beckwith, who, on his return to the Castle, told him that the idea of an insurrection in Dublin was absurd and ridiculous. That he was undecided and, to use a vulgar phrase, bothered, is also true; but beyond that I have never attached any blame to him. I presume now there will be a quietus upon the subject; and the times certainly require, except where actual guilt is improbable, that we should look forward, and endeavour to keep the French out of the country. If a considerable force should be landed in Ireland we must expect a severe struggle, and insurrections in parts of the country where they are least suspected. This I conjecture from a few disaffected persons who have been at work, not very recently, however, in the county of Fermanagh, which you know has more Protestants of the Established Church than any county in Ireland.

Of those with whom I have conversed, the Bishop of Elphin is the most alarmed, and the most apprehensive of the Roman Catholics. He says they are all republicans (speaking of Connaught), and that they look to the French as the means of separating their country from England, of recovering their lands, and establishing their religion. He probably writes his opinions very fully, though, I presume, very confidentially, to Lord Ellenborough; and though I hope and trust his apprehensions are not entirely warranted by the state of the county to which

he more particularly refers, I should be sorry to see the truth of them put to the test. There is certainly more irritation on the subject of religion than has been observable since my knowledge of the country; at least so I am informed by those with whom I have an opportunity of conversing. If, however, the session should pass over without the subject being brought forward, I think that we shall avoid any public discussion of the question in Ireland. If it should be agitated, it will be very desirable to know the extent of the wishes of the Roman Catholics, but it will be difficult to bring them to any final and positive declaration on the subject.

I remain, my dear Sir, yours very sincerely,

HARDWICKE.

EXTRACT FROM MR. ABBOT'S REPLY.

London, March 24th, 1804.

The enemy, we think, will try all points at once, and Ireland of course, will have its share. I am sorry to hear that Fermanagh is tainted in any degree, and that irritations prevail on the subject of religion in any greater degree than formerly. There is no present appearance of our hearing of them in Parliament; and as to the *extent* of the *wishes* of the body of Roman Catholics (or those who lead them), if that were the object of inquiry I have no difficulty in saying that, from what I have ever read, heard, or seen of them, I think they would be limited to a very few points, though not very inconsiderable; viz. 1st. Possession of all the revenues of the Protestant Church in Ireland. 2nd. Possession of all the Protestant lay property. 3rdly. A separation from Great Britain to enable them to keep the two former. . . . . I am thoroughly convinced that these are the opinions upon which every man holding them ought *to act without reserve*, when it is necessary to act at all.

EXTRACTS OF A LETTER FROM THE BISHOP OF MEATH* TO MR. ABBOT...

Denmark Street, March 21st, 1804.

Dear Sir,—Having had many proofs of the interest you take in the concerns of the Church in this kingdom, and knowing the conviction you entertain of the necessity of rendering it effectual to all the purposes of its establishment, I take the liberty to

* Dr. O'Beirne.

trouble you with this letter, and to request that you will let me mark it *most secret and confidential* . . . . . I have ever felt it my duty . . . . to suggest whatever occurred to me as likely to promote the interests of *the Established Church*, on the preservation of which it is my firm persuasion that the present order of things amongst us, and the connection between the two countries, essentially depend. I know that in this persuasion you entirely agree with me, and the share you have had in procuring those most liberal grants which, notwithstanding the pressure of the times and the public exigencies, Parliament has bestowed upon us to establish a resident clergy in Ireland, proves that you have made in this, as in other instances, a wise and happy use of your residence in this country, and have seen where the danger to the establishment was principally to be looked for, and how it was most effectually to be remedied.

But will it not be obvious to the same enlightened zeal to which we owe the prospect of the advantages this measure opens to us, that unless care be taken to have this resident clergy of *such a character*, and so *regulated* and *governed*, as to answer all the objects of their institution, you will increase instead of removing the evils against which you are so laudably anxious to secure the country? And will it not be equally obvious that, in order to provide such a clergy, the very first step must be to see to the character of the Episcopal Bench; and that, as the government of the church and the discipline of the clergy so essentially depend upon them, no one should be raised to it but men who promise to be equal to the important trust? If family connections and Parliamentary influence be sufficient to recommend to the vacancies of that bench, without any consideration being had of the character of the persons, of their learning, their talents, their habits, or their manners, how nugatory must every effort prove to accomplish the great objects which you and all who co-operate with you, have had in view; in the great things you have done and still design to do for this church. To this system, and to the uses arising from it, every person acquainted with what passed in the interior of France during the reign of Louis XV. must ascribe that universal *contempt* for the *religion of the country and its ministers*, in which the dreadful Revolution had its principal source. How much greater the danger must be to the established religion in this country from the adoption of such a system, the circumstances in which that church is placed are too well known to you to require that I should remind you.

When the engagements extorted by the Union had been

fulfilled, we flattered ourselves that the system of taking the bishops from the college, and the most meritorious of the parochial clergy in either kingdom, would be adopted; and the appointment of Dr. Lindsay to the see of Killaloe was received with great satisfaction, as holding to that system, in the estimation of all who had an opportunity of knowing him, and being acquainted with his sentiments on the subjects of this church. But the reports that are afloat on the present vacancy, and the persons whom we hear named as still claiming *Union or other promises*, and the difficulties arising from intended promises, which, we are told, persons are gone from here to throw in the way of the Lord-Lieutenant's recommendation, give the most serious alarm to all who feel as I do on this important point.*

Dear Sir, your much obliged and faithful servant,

J. L. Meath.

March 22nd.—"His Majesty is much better, and in our opinion a short time will perfect his recovery." At the same time it was announced that no further attendance would be given at St. James's for the purpose of receiving inquiries.

23rd.—Saw Mr. Addington on the British Museum business. He received very favourably our Museum proposal of purchasing Dr. Hunter's coins instead of letting them go to the University of Glasgow, and promised to consider of our application for money (or a lottery, as in the year 1753) for the erection of buildings to receive our present collection of Egyptian antiquities, and our expected accession of Mr. Townley's marbles, and Mr. Payne Knight's as well as Sir Joseph Banks's library, and Mr. Gough's topographical collection.

House of Commons. Aylesbury Election Committee. Sir George Cornwall, as Chairman, moved for a Bill to prevent bribery, &c., in Aylesbury, waiving all prosecution of individuals. Leave granted. Mr. Rose gave notice of a motion for prosecuting Mr. Bent, against

* The rest of the letter is of a personal character, discussing the qualifications of different persons whom rumour pointed out as aspiring to the Bench.

whom the Committee had reported bribery, and whose seat they had vacated. Lord Lichfield and the Master of the Rolls protested against any implied approbation of the plan for laying open the right of election to the freeholders of the three adjoining Hundreds.

Monday, April 2nd to 9th. — During this week news arrived of General Lake's and General Wellesley's victories* over the Mahrattas, and the cessation of hostilities between General Wellesley and Scindiah. Also of a more favourable turn in Ceylon.

14*th.*—Went to the Tower. Saw the new works established for stocking and fitting muskets. No muskets were ever stocked or fitted at the Tower till March 1st, 1804. Upon that day Pole began to set up his works, prepare shops, materials, tools, and men; and on the 12th of March the first musket was stocked at the Tower. All the gunsmiths of London, till that time, did not stock more than 107 in a week. The Tower now stocks 350 in the present week, and will proceed progressively to the stocking of 1000 per week, without taking a single man from the trade in the employ of the contractors, and this at as low, or a lower, rate than the contract price. 2000 firelocks, condemned as useless, are now refitting by these means; and new barrels and locks are making at Birmingham, to be stocked also at the Tower.

10*th.*—House of Commons. Debate on the third reading of the Irish Militia Augmentation Bill. For it, 128; against it, 107. Mr. Pitt, Fox, Grenville, &c., voted in the minority.

In the beginning of the day Lord Morpeth mentioned Buonaparte's detection of Mr. Drake's supposed correspondence with the conspirators against Buonaparte, and Talleyrand's note to all the Foreign Ministers in France,

* In the course of 1803 Lord Lake defeated Scindiah's forces, under French officers, in the north of India, at Allighur, Delhi, Agra, and Laswaree; and General Wellesley (afterwards the Duke of Wellington) defeated Scindiah himself at Assaye, in September, and at Argaum in December.

and their answers. Mr. Addington, with indignation, denied any instruction or countenance given by His Majesty's Government to Mr. Drake, or any other Minister or person whatever, to act in any manner contrary to the acknowledged laws of nations, even in a war of the bitterest hostility. He stated also that no accounts had been received from Mr. Drake relative to the transaction in question.*

18*th*.—Mr. Pitt having an attack of the gout, the Army of Reserve Bill was read a second time without debate, and Mr. Long gave notice of his intention to debate that Bill in the next stage, on Friday next, and to take the sense of the House upon it. Mr. Fox's motion was put off till Monday.

22*nd*.—A meeting was held this evening at Mr. Addington's upon the course of debate for to-morrow.†

23*rd*.—House of Commons. This day the King held his first council since his illness, and signed proclamations for a general fast, &c.

House of Commons. Debate on Mr. Fox's motion for a Committee on the Defence Bills, and to consider of the further measures necessary for a complete and permanent defence. Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, and Mr. Wyndham for the motion; Mr. Addington, Mr. Yorke, the Attorney-General, and Mr. Tierney against the motion. Mr. Pitt made a long speech of great hostility towards the conduct of the Administration.

Division at three o'clock: ayes, 204; noes, 256.

N.B. In this and the following division Mr. Fox's friends were very doubtful of deriving any benefit from the co-operation with Mr. Pitt. Mr. Courtnay said, "We are the pioneers digging the foundation; but Mr.

* Mr. Drake was our Minister at Munich; and he was cajoled by M. Mehée de la Touche into negotiations, having for their object the subversion of the existing Government of France, which being betrayed by M. de la Touche to the French police, whose agent he was, were magnified by Buonaparte into a design to procure his assassination, a charge which was wholly destitute of foundation.

† According to *Rose's Diary*, vol. ii. p. 113, it was on this day that "Mr. Pitt wrote a letter to the King, stating his inability any longer to support Addington's Administration."

Pitt will be the architect to build the House, and to inhabit it."

It was afterwards said, that upon this and the following debate Mr. Pitt had written to the King, stating at great length the reasons of his votes upon these questions.

24*th*.—Saw Mr. Addington, in very good spirits and perfectly at ease about the consequence of these divisions.

House of Commons: Mr. Dent's motion on the Loyalty Loan Act. A curious transaction as to parliamentary proceedings upon a loan. 1st. The resolution differed in terms from the paper communicated to the Bank upon which the loan was subscribed; 2nd. The Bill differed from the resolution; and 3rd. The amendments made in Committee differed from all the antecedent terms. The difference being as to the notice to be given by the subscribers when they should call for repayment. Alterations stated, and agreed never to have happened in any like case or any other instance, and perfectly unexplained and unaccounted for by Mr. Pitt now. Mr. Rose did not speak upon the question. Division: for Mr. Dent's motion, 76 (Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox speaking for it); against it, 100.

Three divisions in the Lords upon the Militia Bills. For Ministers, 94; against them, 61.

25*th*. — House of Commons. Upon the division for my leaving the chair on the Army of Reserve Suspension Bill, Mr. Pitt opened his plan for keeping up the army of reserve with modifications for making it a permanent supply to the regular troops, and, at the same time, proposing gradually to reduce the militia, &c. Mr. Fox, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Wyndham spoke in support partially of this measure with a mixture also of hesitation as to an ultimate approbation of the whole. Mr. Yorke, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Addington, &c., spoke for proceeding with the Suspension Bill. Division at half-past 1. For the question, 240; against it, 203.

26*th.*—I called on Mr. Addington, and told him that I thought these successive divisions obliged him either to give up the Government, or exert the utmost power of the Crown to support it. He said all his measures were taken, and the Cabinet were prepared. In the course of the day I hear he went with the Chancellor to the King, and this evening there was to be a Cabinet.*

27*th.*—House of Commons. Irish loan agreed to in a Committee of Ways and Means; and divers services voted in a Committee of Supply.

It has not yet transpired that the administration have determined to resign, or to make extraordinary exertions for withstanding the combination of parties against them in Parliament. The King is said to understand their relative situations, and the Cabinet to have met repeatedly on the subject.

29*th.*—Saw Mr. Addington. The King dreads a defeat of his Ministry in Parliament as the forerunner of a Regency. To keep his health safe is the cause of the country. At present, if necessary, he may still change his Ministry without being driven to it by a forced junction of the three oppositions. Mr. Pitt is not now pledged to any men; but the King is ready to avert this by the utmost exercise of his authority, if that can, all things considered, succeed; and Parliament would be dissolved now, if the state of business and public affairs did not preclude that measure. It is now for consideration whether the battle can be fought with a certainty of success, or else the evil would only be aggravated and passions exasperated. The King is earnest to do for Mr. Addington everything and more than he can desire or may choose to accept; but to belong to any new arrangement Mr. Addington is resolved not to consent.

Budget to-morrow, ten millions loan. Interests

* According to Lord Malmesbury (*Diary*, vol. iv. p. 296), Addington this day communicated to the King the impossibility of his continuing to conduct the present Administration, and "he" (Addington) "reports that the King received this with great marks of concern and indignation, and proposed an immediate dissolution."

recovered and revenue increased, viz., war taxes to 12,000,000*l.* by, 1st. Additional import duties; 2nd. Raising wine to the tax first proposed last year; 3rd. A stamp consolidated Act. No service now unpaid; and army and navy and ordnance at a higher charge than ever.

The rumours of to-day carry the expected minority in the Lords for to-morrow to ninety-three. Ministers expect an increase of ten to fifteen for their next division in the Commons.

This day Lord Stafford gave a grand dinner. Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, &c., dined there. A Ministerial arrangement was handed about, filling up the principal offices thus:—

Lord Stafford	President of the Council.
Lord Rosslyn	Chancellor.
Mr. Pitt	Chancellor of the Exchequer, &c.
Lord Grenville and Lord Melville .	Secretaries of State.
Lord Spencer	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Mr. Rose	Treasurer of the Navy.
Mr. Canning and Mr. Steele . .	Joint Paymasters.
Mr. Sturges Bourne	One of the Secretaries of the Treasury.
Mr. Long and Mr. George Rose .	Lords of the Treasury.

30*th.*—After I had taken the chair, about half-past four, news was brought from the House of Lords that Lord Hawkesbury had desired to put off Lord Stafford's expected motion upon the defence of the country, alleging that the House was to give him credit for not proposing this upon slight grounds, at the same time that he must decline stating what those grounds were. A debate of an hour ensued, which ended in postponing the motion.

I was then told by another Member, that the Prince of Wales, who had hitherto given no answer to any party, had at last declared openly for the Opposition, and had sent expresses for Lord Moira from Scotland, and Mr. Tyrwhitt from Devonshire.

N.B. Mr. Cowper, the Clerk of the House of Lords, computed the division would have been 111 to 111, including 32 proxies for the Opposition, and 39 for the Administration.

Another account supposed it would have been 102 to 115, making a majority of 13 for the Ministry.

The total number of Peers at this time, including Scotch and Irish Representative Peers and Bishops, is about 352.

When Mr. Addington came into the House, he came to me in the chair, and mentioned Lord Hawkesbury having put off the business in the House of Lords. I asked him what this meant; he said it was upon the ground which he had suggested to me yesterday,— that the King dreaded his closet being forced. There was no want of zeal, or honourable attachment and fidelity to the support of his present Ministers, but a want of confidence in the success of the contest, according to the King's view of the state of affairs; and therefore a communication had been made (not through Mr. Addington), which would for the present suspend all proceedings upon contested measures, and I should not see him upon the Treasury Bench for more than a very few days. He added that if a division had taken place that evening in the Lords, the majority was not expected to exceed ten; and in the Commons the next division was not expected to be more than 22 in favour of the Administration.

He then went through his budget with great clearness, and apparently with great satisfaction to the House; and not a remark was made upon it by any one member.

At the close of the resolution, Mr. Fox rose and adverted to what had passed in the other House, which, whether it was more or less mysterious, was understood to prevent for some few days any discussion of public measures; and he asked if the like reasons applied to the state of business in this House.

Mr. Addington answered that the same reasons certainly did apply, and the Government did not mean at present to bring forward any controverted measures. After which all the notices and orders of the day were deferred indefinitely, and the House broke up in a dis-

turbed state, but without any further conversation; and without any clamour or any apparent exultation. Mr. Fox and his friends seemed to be gloomy, and the Grenville party was entirely silent.

The next day Sargent told me that he believed the Cabinet resolutions, or rather Mr. Addington's and the Chancellor's, were taken finally in the middle of the day. He had met the Chancellor much disturbed about two o'clock, who said he was going to Carlton House. (When the Chancellor represented to the Prince the effects of his opposition to the King's Government, the Prince is stated to have represented to the Chancellor the impropriety of the King having been permitted to see the Duke of York before the rest of his family; and of the Duke of York obtaining at that time military appointments, viz., Chelsea Hospital, &c.)

This turned out not to be correct intelligence, the determination must have been taken on Sunday; for William Dundas told me the Chancellor went to Mr. Pitt at eleven on Monday morning to signify to him the King's pleasure.

N.B. It was in fact taken at the Cabinet held late on Sunday night.

Mr. Pitt, when he came into the House of Commons, (as was also observed whilst he was in the House of Lords to-day) was evidently much embarrassed. Mr. Fox appeared to have had no previous intimation of the King's message to Mr. Pitt.

Tuesday, May 1st.—I saw Mr. Addington, but not alone; he mentioned that the Prince of Wales, who had it in his power a week ago to have stopped a change of Ministers if he had stood by the King, had thrown himself entirely into the Opposition; that he, Mr. Addington had formerly taken, and was now relinquishing his office, upon one and the same principle, that of maintaining the King's peace of mind, and saving him from the outrage of having a Minister forced upon him rudely and violently, to the degradation of royalty. That even now, the Ministers had proposed

to resign before the last extremity, that the King might have the grace of making a new choice without absolute compulsion. And it was done at a time when it was hoped that Mr. Pitt was yet unpledged; although his own conduct might eventually make him feel the necessity of some junction to support him against the dissatisfaction of those in Parliament who had disapproved of the means by which he had forced his way back into power. Mr. Addington distinctly expressed to those who were present (Sargent and Hobhouse) that he should wish all his own friends, who could do it consistently with their own sense of propriety, not to decline acting with or under Mr. Pitt in Administration. He added, "There is one thing I can assure you, I shall not make any professions about *my* future line of conduct; I will not even tell the King that I shall support his Government."

I met Lord Eliot on my way home; he highly approved of the good sense and moderation with which the Ministers were quitting office, before Mr. Pitt (as he hoped) was pledged, but he strongly deprecated any coalition between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, and made no scruple of declaring his aversion to Lord Grenville as a Minister.

The Attorney-General told me he had the offer of the Chief-Justiceship of Chester, and should take it; although if Mr. Pitt wished him to continue in office, and did not join Mr. Fox, he should not decline to serve under him.

May 2nd. — Saw Mr. Addington, who had walked with the King yesterday an hour and a half in his garden. The King perfectly well, and not to be called an invalid.

Mr. Pitt has not yet seen the King *: it is not near

* According to *Rose's Diary*, vol. ii. p. 113, though ever since Mr. Pitt's letter of April 22nd, frequent communications between the King and him had taken place, they had all been conveyed *verbally*, through the medium of Lord Eldon; but on this day Mr. Pitt wrote a letter to the Chancellor (to be communicated to His Majesty), urging the desirableness "that an Administration should be formed on a broad basis, combining the best talents, &c., of the country."—Compare *Twiss's Life of Eldon*, vol. i. p. 442.

to that point yet. Mr. Pitt is supposed to be much more committed with the rest of the Opposition than has yet appeared.

Mr. Addington has made up his own mind to his own part. He will not take any office with any arrangement of Mr. Pitt. He will not accept from the King any rank or emolument of office. It shall not be said that he has compromised to secure his own interest, and sacrificed his friends by the surrender of the King's Government. The King has pressed him to take the Duchy of Lancaster for life, and will not hear of any peerage less than an earldom; for a barony, he says, was earned by Mr. Addington's services in the chair. These offers Mr. Addington will desire to be delivered to him in writing; and then, when the King's part is performed, and the King has shown that he does not part with a Minister, who has served him with fidelity and honour, unrewarded, Mr. Addington will decline the whole; he has made up his mind, and wishes not to have this to discuss with any of his friends.

The King told the Duke of Kent yesterday, that in losing Mr. Addington for a Minister he should see more of him instead of less; but Mr. Addington is equally resolved not to act the part of a man marked by special royal favour out of office, and has satisfied himself as to his future course of conduct, &c. In the meantime he will go on with the Money Bills upon his loan until the change is made.

The Chancellor is said to have seen more of the King of late than Mr. Addington has; and it is also supposed that he has led the King to think more of Mr. Pitt than might otherwise have happened. In the course of the day I also heard that Mr. Pitt has, upon every recent occasion after speaking or voting in the House of Commons, written to the King an account of the grounds upon which he has thought himself bound to take such a course.

3rd. — House of Commons. Thanks to Lord Wellesley. The previous question moved by Mr. Fox. The

main question carried without a division. Unanimous thanks to General Lake and his army.

Vansittart dined with me. He proposes retiring to the bar, with a view to an independent situation unconnected with party, and some employment at the cockpit and the House of Lords.

Mr. Addington did not see the King yesterday, nor was he to see him to-day. The Chancellor alone, of the King's retiring Ministers, sees him at present.

Lord Grenville, in the House of Lords, stated that a change of Ministers was under His Majesty's consideration; and Mr. Fox put off his Hanoverian motion to Monday next.

This day Mr. Pitt delivered in writing his proposed arrangements for His Majesty's consideration.

5th. — Saw Mr. Addington. After seeing the King on Tuesday last, he forbore to go to the Queen's House on Wednesday, and declined going on Thursday; but Mr. Pitt's proposition having been sent in writing to the King on Thursday, and the King having settled his written answer yesterday, Mr. Addington, being sent for, went, and the whole was communicated to him. Mr. Pitt's proposition was general, and *very broad* as to parties to be included. The answer tended to a modified arrangement.* Three weeks ago a communication was made to Mr. Addington from authority, inducing him to believe that a change of Administration, if made at this time, would render an arrangement less exceptionable, as neither Mr. Pitt nor Lord Grenville were engaged to Mr. Fox and his friends, which appeared to be less true now than had been represented or believed. The Chancellor, who conducts the negotiation, is sometimes

* The purport of the King's letter is given in *Rose*, vol. ii. p. 117. It demanded an express renunciation of any intention to bring forward the Catholic question or the repeal of the Test Act, blamed the conduct of Lord Grenville and Mr. Dundas, put a decided negative on Mr. Fox, and "expressed a hope that Mr. Pitt, in forming a new Administration, would include as many of his present servants as possible." Mr. Pitt "returned a very temperate and respectful answer."

delighted with his success, and sometimes frightened. It seems now as if Mr. Pitt were willing to take into his arrangements some of the present Ministers, in the room of other persons named in his first proposition. Mr. Canning gives out that a high office (the Duchy of Lancaster) is to be offered to Mr. Addington, but Mr. Addington will hear of nothing with or from a joint Administration of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox.

N.B. The King's answer to Mr. Pitt's proposition was not given till this morning.

House of Commons went a stage upon the Money Bills.

6*th*.—Nothing was settled this day respecting the new Ministry. General dissatisfaction amongst Mr. Pitt's friends, and the public in general, at the idea of his forming a joint Administration with Mr. Fox.

CHAP. XX.

1804.

MR. PITT RESUMES OFFICE. — THE KING REFUSES TO ADMIT MR. FOX INTO THE CABINET. — LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE ON THE NEW ARRANGEMENTS. — THE KING'S REGARD FOR MR. ADDINGTON. — LIST OF THE NEW CABINET. — PITT'S ARMY BILL. — MR. GRENVILLE'S LANGUAGE ABOUT THE NEW MINISTRY. — SLAVE-TRADE ABOLITION BILL PASSED. — CIVIL LIST DEBTS. — PARLIAMENT PROROGUED. — LOYALTY LOAN. — LETTERS FROM MR. PITT, LORD REDESDALE, ETC. — UNGUARDED CONDUCT OF THE PRINCESS OF WALES. — LORD WELLESLEY'S CONDUCT IN INDIA. — SEIZURE OF THE SPANISH FRIGATES.

MONDAY, May 7th. — House of Commons. Mr. Rose said, "He was authorised to acquaint the House that an Hon. Member had received His Majesty's personal commands to submit to his consideration an arrangement for a new Administration." This he said upon occasion of Mr. Fox deferring his motion for papers respecting the transports for removing the Hanoverian troops from the Continent.

Mr. Sheridan came up to the chair, and told me that Mr. Pitt had seen the King to-day; that the King had told Mr. Pitt he should consider it as a personal insult if Mr. Fox was pressed upon him; that he had no objection to Mr. Fox's friends having any share in the Government, but could not allow of Mr. Fox holding any office which should give occasion for any personal intercourse with him; that Mr. Fox's friends had just held a meeting at *Carlton House*, where Mr. Fox* had

* "Pitt never had any personal interview with Fox; never made him any specific pledge further than saying that, if the time ever came when he should be called on to frame an Administration, he would name him (Fox) as a person whose great abilities might be usefully employed at the present crisis, but that if the King objected to the admission of him into his Councils, he should not press Fox on his Majesty, but endeavour to form a Government according to the King's pleasure. This was perfectly understood by Fox so long ago as March." — *Lord Malmesbury*, vol. iv. p. 299.

mooted the matter in such a way as might be expected from him; desiring his friends to take their share in the Government, but that they had all resolved not to do so; that Mr. Pitt was now employed with Lord Grenville in forming a plan of Administration.

8th.—Saw Mr. Addington. In consequence of Mr. Fox's not being received into the new Administration, Lord Grenville's party, at a meeting between Lord Grenville, Lord Spencer, and Lord Fitzwilliam, Mr. Grenville, Mr. Wyndham, &c., have declined accepting any situations in the Administration to be formed by Mr. Pitt*, who, it is now expected, must endeavour to form a Ministry out of his own separate friends, and some of the present Administration.

The King, as Mr. Pitt says, astonished Mr. Pitt yesterday by his good state of health, and Mr. Pitt's remark was that "his mind was more considerable than he had known it to be for many years past." To-day also the King is remarkably well.

Mr. Addington repeated his determination to accept no rank or emolument for himself or his personal connections. He was set much at ease in respect to Bragge†, who, with nine children, and only 1000*l.* a year, had yesterday succeeded, by the death of an old lady, to the Ledney estate, which was entailed upon him, worth 2500*l.* per annum.

9th.—The King held a council to-day, to swear in Lord Chief Justice Mansfield, and the new King's Council kissed hands; to-day the King went out for the first time in his coach with the Queen and two of the Princesses, and passed through many of the streets in his airing.

Mr. Pitt has not yet proposed his new Ministry.

* Lord Grenville's letter to Pitt, announcing this resolution, is to be found in *Courts and Cabinets of George III.*, vol. iii. p. 352. Pitt was highly indignant, and said "he would teach that proud man that, in the service and with the confidence of the King, he could do without him; though he thought his health such that it might cost him his life."—*Twiss's Life of Eldon*, vol. i. p. 449.

† Mr. Bragge was married to Mr. Addington's youngest sister.

House of Commons. Mr. Fox moved for papers respecting the Hanoverian troops, but did not advert to the present state of affairs. The papers were granted without debate.

10*th*.—I called upon Mr. Addington at ten; but he was gone to the Queen's House to resign the Seals of Chancellor of the Exchequer. At half-past twelve, when I called again, he was returned, and the Chancellor was with him, and Yorke and Steele came in.

He told us he had resigned, and should pack up his awls, and get out of that house as soon as possible. To me separately he mentioned that he had fought his last battle, and carried his point with the King in refusing everything of rank or emolument. He desired to see me to-morrow morning.

Hatsell, whom I met when I went from Downing Street, told me, that the King had written a long letter last night to Mr. Addington, pressing peerage, &c., and saying that he had given orders for making out a patent of earldom, &c., to which Mr. Addington had also last night written his answer, declining everything of the sort.

Mr. Addington's private fortune from his father was 2000*l*. a year, to which he had added a considerable fortune by his marriage—about 1000*l*. a year more; and this, with the Pells to his son, made a total income in the family of about 6000*l*. a year, or about 5000*l*. for himself to spend for some years, till his son was grown up and settled in life.

Nothing of the new arrangements has yet transpired beyond Mr. Pitt's own appointment, except a rumoured offer to Lord Hawkesbury and Lord Castlereagh to continue, and Lord Melville to go to the Admiralty.

House of Commons. Mr. Addington sat, as usual, upon the Treasury Bench, and Mr. Long, from behind, moved a new writ in the room of the Right Honourable W. Pitt, who had accepted the office of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Long afterwards told me that no other part of the arrange-

ments was declared, and it was not settled whether more writs would be moved to-morrow. Sturges Bourne is to be one of the Secretaries to the Treasury, the other is not yet settled.

LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE TO MR. ABBOT.

Ardrim, May 5th, 1804.

My dear Sir, — I think Mr. Addington has judged well in not resisting till driven from his office. The consequence must have been His Majesty's surrender at discretion. At present he has at least some short time to consider how he ought to act. I conclude Mr. Pitt must be the Minister, and that he must be permitted to form such an Administration as in his judgment will enable him to conduct the affairs of the country. Considering his experience, it would be absurd to suppose that he could accept office on other terms.

At this distance it is difficult for me to form a correct judgment of the extent to which it will be necessary for him to make changes; but I am well persuaded that it will be most wise to retain the influence of Government as it stands, making as few changes as possible. Nothing tends so much to render the power of Ministers precarious as the apprehension of extensive changes; and nothing, therefore, tends so much to give solidity to Administrations, as such, as perceiving that fidelity to a preceding Administration in all inferior situations, is a recommendation to their successors. The language which Shakespeare (who was a great politician by the force of talent, as well as a great poet), puts into the mouth of Henry IV., addressing the Bishop of Carlisle, is the language of a great and profound politician.* I do not expect those who surround Mr. Pitt, to entertain in general, sentiments so just. They are principally urged by the desire of power and profit. But Mr. Pitt himself, I trust, is differently moulded; and therefore, I hope, will see his true interest; at the same time I know his disposition to yield to inferior minds, and I have seen too much not to know that this is the weakness of all great men. They can resist those who approach them in point of talent, because

* The passage to which Lord Redesdale alludes is in *Richard II.*, act v. scene 6: —

"As thou liv'st in peace die free from strife;
For though mine enemy thou hast ever been,
High sparks of honour in thee have I seen."

they feel the force of rivalship, and the jealousy of competition; but they yield to those from whom they fear neither; and they yield perhaps because they are wearied by resistance to others. I therefore do not expect perfect consistency or perfect wisdom in all the measures to be now pursued: I only hope that they will be less violent than if the power fell into other hands, or than if Mr. Pitt himself took the Cabinet by storm, at the head of the *combined* forces of Opposition. It was truly said by one of those who joined the Earl of Essex in his mad proceedings against Queen Elizabeth, that they meant the most profound respect to the Queen's person, but that he was compelled by reflection to confess that it was impossible to say, however innocent their intentions might be as to the person of the Queen, to what lengths they might have been driven, when once engaged, by necessary regard to their own safety, or the violence or indiscretion of their instruments; to whom they might be compelled, against their will, to yield, even to the death of the Queen.

These reflections ought to make us very unwilling to engage deeply in political contests; but, alas! men will ever be ambitious of power, of rank, of distinction; covetous of wealth, envious of others, and railing against all — we are too apt ourselves, even unknown to ourselves, to fall into the very courses which in our cooler moments of reflection we have condemned. When, therefore, the ferment is high we must look to the worst. I dread the consequences of changes much more for this country than for England separately; but dreading the consequences for this country, I dread them for the country at large. Our Irish Marquis*, who has lately been fighting the battles so strenuously in the House of Lords, has said most truly, that the legislative Union is but a rope of sand; that there requires much more to make the Union perfect. He does not, I fear, see very far into the millstone; but he sees thus far, and I am afraid he so far sees more than His Majesty's late Ministers, who formed the Union, very distinctly saw. When I look at the compact then made, and compare its terms with the language of those who soon after retired from His Majesty's service, declaring that they did so because they could not carry measures in direct breach of that contract, I am all astonishment. Did they mean what they said in the Union compact? or did they mean what they said when they retired from office? Could they mean both; or in both did they

* Lord Headfort.

deceive themselves, or were they deceived? Can you answer these questions? I cannot without supposing that men of great talents, of great experience, of great political knowledge, acted without reflection, or without integrity, or from mere caprice, or that they were deceiving and endeavouring to overreach each other, some meaning one thing, some the direct contrary. Or, perhaps, that their conduct was produced by a combination of all these inconsistent motives; a sense of the difficulties in which by duplicity they had involved themselves, and a want of resolution in some to avow their errors, and tread back the steps they had falsely taken. Could those who recalled Lord Fitzwilliam think as they then did when they adhered to Lord Cornwallis's unaccountable declaration*? and how is that declaration to be made consistent with his subsequent conduct? All these considerations together alternately agitate my hopes and fears for this country; and in the fate of this country perhaps the fate of the empire, perhaps the fate of Europe, is involved. You have seen enough to know and to feel the force of these reflections and their importance, and I am sure that you must agree with me that the result must produce in those whose object is the public good most awful considerations. I sometimes flatter myself with the hope that many have seen their error; that the eyes of people in general begin to open on the true state of this country, and that they have a faint glimmering of its dangers sufficient to give them some alarm. I anxiously hope that in this I am not deceived; but I confess my fears are almost equal to my hopes; and every day brings to my mind some new proof of the reasonableness of my apprehensions; and of the dangers to which the country is exposed. All its present miseries are to be traced to one source; and for fifty years past the Ministers in England have been gradually giving additional strength to the stream which flows from it. Farewell, my dear Sir, and believe me faithfully yours,

REDESDALE.

The Right Hon. the Speaker.

Mr. Pitt's second Administration.†

11*th*.—On my way to Mr. Addington I met the Attorney-General, who told me that he had yesterday

* See the *Cornwallis Correspondence*, vol. ii. p. 347, and seq.

† The King received Mr. Pitt with the utmost kindness and cordiality, saying "he was *regaining* an old friend." — *Rose*, vol. ii. p. 121.

received a message from Mr. Pitt, through Lord Harrowby, desiring him to continue in his present office; to which the Attorney-General said he must beg first to have it understood, first, that Mr. Fox was to be no party to the Administration; secondly, that there was to be no criminating retrospect of the measures of Mr. Addington's Administration; thirdly, that there was to be no bringing forward of the Catholic question.

On the first point it was said, that Mr. Fox was certainly not a member of the new Administration; but there was no undertaking that he never would be; and upon this the Attorney-General had closed, distinctly stating that his own acceptance therefore must be as conditional as the offer. On the second point it was said that Mr. Pitt, who had blamed the measures of his predecessors before he became Minister, was not to abstain from censuring them at present, but, it being added that certainly no vindictive course was to be taken in these respects, the Attorney-General had acquiesced in that explanation. On the third point it was said, that Mr. Pitt had already repeatedly stated that he would not only not propose it now, but should resist it if brought forward by any other person. The Attorney-General had said that this must be more clearly understood on his part; and that he should certainly not only resist it as to the question of *time*, but should think it his duty to resist it at all times, upon its principle and its consequences. And if this representation of his intention should create any impediment, he must beg to know it. And he was accordingly to have an answer in that case last night; but had received none.

Mr. Addington resumed our conversation of yesterday.

The King had written to him the night before last, in consequence of a previous understanding that all arrears of business at the Treasury were cleared off; and appointed yesterday morning for him to bring the seals of office.

In that letter he had said that his friendship for Mr. Addington was too deeply engraven on his heart to be diminished by any change of situation, or to suffer him to leave his service without discharging what he conceived to be a duty to the public and to his own character, by conferring a peerage upon him, and recommending the House of Commons to make a provision for him in consideration of his long services as Speaker, and extending it to his family. With reference to Mr. Addington's small patrimonial estate devised to him from his ancestors, who were Royalists in the reign of Charles I., near Banbury, in Oxfordshire, and to Mr. Addington's late residence in Berkshire, he would not hear of any dignity less than an earldom, the titles to be Earl of Banbury, Viscount Wallingford, and Baron Reading. (N.B.—The King had always a desire to suppress the spurious title of Earl of Banbury, assumed by the Knowleses under a creation of James II., after his abdication.) All this, as the King told Mr. Addington afterwards, Mr. Pitt had agreed to be perfectly proper.

To the King's letter Mr. Addington had answered on the same night, with all proper expression of gratitude, &c., but absolutely declining the honours and provisions proposed to him, and entreating upon every consideration towards his own happiness and satisfaction of mind, that he might be allowed to retire without any alteration of his rank in life or addition to his fortune.

Upon his interview with the King yesterday, His Majesty had, with great earnestness and some agitation, returned to his desire of pressing the earldom, pension, &c., but had at length allowed Mr. Addington to act in the way which he thought most suited to his own happiness and future life.

The King, however, had urged him to have a grant of the house in Richmond Park, as a jointure house for Mrs. Addington, which Mr. Addington had equally resisted, as it could only be done by Act of Parliament;

and, as the King would not endure to hear of his quitting it, he had, in coincidence with the Chancellor's opinion, who was present, not thought it possible for him "to refuse" (as the King expressed it) "living in a house only because it was the King's."

Mr. Addington however said to me that he should only consider himself to be there as a tenant on sufferance; and the living in it at all was the only angle which broke in upon the integrity of his feelings at this moment.

The list of the new administration, as stated (by Mr. W. Dundas) to-day, was supposed to stand thus:—

Mr. Pitt	Treasury.
Lord Eldon	Chancellor.
Lord Hawkesbury	Secretary of State.
Lord Mulgrave	Ditto.
Lord Harrowby or Mr. Canning	Ditto.
Duke of Portland	Lord President.
Lord Camden	Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Chatham	Ordnance.
Lord Melville	Admiralty.
Lord Castlereagh	Board of Control.

This is the Cabinet.

Mr. Rose	Treasurer of the Navy.
Mr. W. Dundas and Lord Euston	Joint Paymasters.
Mr. Huskisson and Mr. Sturges Bourne	Secretaries to the Treasury.
Mr. Long	A Lord of the Treasury.
Perceval	Attorney-General.
Duke of Montrose	The favourite for Ireland.*
Qu. Who?	Secretary at War.

N.B. Mr. Canning is gone out of town in dudgeon.

12*th*.—I saw Mr. Addington. He showed me the King's letter, written to him on Wednesday evening, after Mr. Pitt had left him. It was to the same effect as he had stated to me yesterday. He also showed me his answer. He said his own line in Parliament would

* The Duke, however, came into the Cabinet as President of the Board of Trade and Postmaster-General. — *Rose*, vol. ii. p. 135. The other variations from the list given above were, that Lord Mulgrave was made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Lord Westmoreland, Privy Seal; Lord Camden, Secretary of State for War and the Colonies.

be perfectly quiet, certainly wishing well to the ease of the King's Government, and attending upon all days of material business.

13*th.* — It seems to be understood that the place of Secretary at War is reserved for Canning. Rose said to-day that nothing was settled about his own appointment.

14*th.* — Saw Mr. Addington, he had just been with the King. Canning is Treasurer of the Navy, and Mr. Wm. Dundas Secretary at War. Lord Lovaine a Lord of the Treasury. Lord Dartmouth Lord Chamberlain. The new Ministers kissed hands at the Queen's House.

15*th.* — General Bentham called with his papers upon arming vessels, which he was to send to-day to Mr. Pitt, with a brief statement of the principle and success of its application to all sorts of vessels, proved by experiment and experience, and recommended repeatedly by the Ordnance to the Admiralty for general adoption.

The Lord Steward being out of office, no Member could be sworn this day.

23*rd.* — The Lords' amendments to the Volunteer Bill were debated and agreed to, except in a few instances which appeared to be contrary to our own privileges.

In one of the amendments, the Lords had altered the day of making the first return which should entitle volunteers to certain exemptions from hair powder duty, &c. from May to June; upon the ground that, as the Bill was still depending before the Lords in the then month of April, the first appointed time in May would be either elapsed before the Act passed, or so near at hand as to make it an impracticable date for making the necessary returns all over the kingdom.

This, however, was argued to be an amendment touching a tax; and, therefore, such as either should induce the Commons to lay aside the Bill altogether, or at least should induce them to disagree to an endeavour of the Lords to alter money regulations.

To this it was answered, — 1. That though in Bills of aid and supply the Commons would not allow the Lords to make any alteration whatever, yet in Bills of regulation, civil or military, where money clauses were matters of incidental provision, the Commons would not consider any amendment made by the Lords in such clauses as a reason for necessarily rejecting the whole Bill. They would reject it if the amendment were considered to be an avowed attempt to dispute the privileges of the House; but otherwise the Commons would only disagree to the particular amendment. 2. That, as to the partial amendment of May for June, it had been frequently agreed to, where it was caused by the day named by the Commons having become an impossible day, on account of its having expired during the progress of the Bill through Parliament, and where the amendment was such as to be in furtherance of the Commons' intentions.

The precedent and principles which I stated from the chair, supported these arguments; and the House acted accordingly, with an amendment to the Lords' amendments as to May and June, which the Commons now altered to July.

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM MR. WICKHAM TO MR. ABBOT.

May 21st.

It may be material for you to *know*, as I do from unquestionable authority, that all is not as it should be at Buckingham House. With perfect powers of mind during many hours of the day, there are moments when things are done and said which it is most important to conceal from the public. My information on this important and distressing subject comes from anxious friends, and not from enemies. Lord Liverpool considers Lord Hawkesbury's removal to the Home Department as a disgrace, and is sorry that it was submitted to. I have reason to believe that Lord Hawkesbury's health will not allow of his remaining long in office. But Lord Hawkesbury cannot go back; for it was the condition of Lord Stafford's giving his support to Mr.

Pitt that *we should not be disgraced as we had been in the eyes of foreign powers*, by total incapacity, &c.

Lord Camden is to have the management of the Irish Members. It is thought that he will go back to Ireland whenever the vacancy shall happen. This vacancy may happen sooner than is expected, because I understand that Lord Hardwicke has positively refused to send over the recommendation of Lord Robert Tottenham.*

30*th.*—Mr. Pitt deferred his notice on military defence. House of Commons. Slave Trade motion; for abolition, 124; against it, 49. Thirty Irish Members voted for abolition. Mr. Addington spoke shortly against the motion; Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox for it. Also Mr. Barham, a West Indian planter of large property, who had hitherto always opposed it.

31*st.*—Mr. Addington called here. He is determined to attend all great questions, and to remark freely on the measures of the new Government; desirous of being justified in supporting them, but not forbearing to comment upon them.

Saturday, June 2nd.—Lord Wilton said the King was much better yesterday than when he saw him some days ago. He has written some very able letters, particularly one to Lord Harrowby, upon the conduct of correspondence with foreign powers.

4*th.*—The King's birthday. A drawing-room, at which the Queen and Princesses, but not the King, were present. The Prince of Wales was not there; but drove through the streets upon the coach-box of his barouche. The Princess of Wales was there.

About this time the Cabinet, having called upon the physicians for a report upon the King's state of health, they made a long and complicated statement nearly to the following effect:

"That his Majesty's deviation from his ordinary habits was the most promising sign of amendment. That he was competent to the functions of government,

* For an Irish Bishopric. He was one of those against whom the Bishop of Meath, in the letter from which extracts were given, had most strongly protested.

provided they were not of an extraordinary sort; and that the attendance of his physicians was still necessary."

Tierney told this to me, and Bathurst said he had seen a copy of it in the hands of Sir J. C. Hippesley; corrected by Mr. Grey, it having been communicated to the Princess of Wales.

5th. — House of Commons. Mr. Pitt brought in his Army Bill. No division, but opposed by Mr. Wyndham, Fox, and Mr. Addington.

7th. — House of Commons. Slave Trade Abolition Bill, second reading, debated till two o'clock in the morning. For it, 100; against it, 42.

8th. — House of Commons. Debate on second reading of Mr. Pitt's Army Bill, till half-past two. For it, 221; against it, 181.

9th. — The Opposition (Mr. Fox's party) resolved to muster their whole strength for Monday next, and try another division. Mr. Pitt also sent expresses everywhere for his friends.

Cobbett has delivered up to the Attorney-General the original MS. of Juverna's letter, for which he is now convicted; but the Attorney-General has protested against any engagement or understanding, direct or indirect, that such surrender is to alter the consequences of the conviction. It appears that the original is in the handwriting of Judge Johnson, of Ireland; and that it came by post to Cobbett.

11th. — House of Commons. Upon the question for my leaving the chair on Mr. Pitt's Army Bill: for it, 219; against it, 169.

12th. — Division for going into a Committee on the Slave Trade: for it, 79; against it, 20.

13th. — Lord Glenbervie called to state his plan for a superintending Board of Commissioners, to execute the measures proposed for encouraging the growth of naval timber in the royal forests, by naming the Speaker and other officers of state at the head of it, whose authority might surmount the present impediments created by the interest of powerful individuals.

House of Commons. After a considerable quantity of common business the House was counted out upon the hearing counsel against the Bill for abolishing the Slave Trade.

14*th*.—Mr. Foster's writ moved as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a Lord of the Treasury for Ireland.

15*th*.—House of Commons. Army Bill Report. Division at six o'clock unexpectedly. 69 against *now* reading the amendments a second time; 63 for it. Then a debate and division on putting them off for three months. For reading them on Monday next, 214; against it, 186.

The first division was so unexpected that I had not taken the usual step of clearing the gallery before the question was put; by which it happened that, whilst the strangers were issuing forth, several members came into the House; and, after the Tellers had given at the table the separate numbers of each side, but before they had walked up to the table to report them, exception was taken that several members so circumstanced ought not to have their votes allowed. Upon this a debate arose of considerable length, and each member who spoke sat covered. At the end, Mr. Fox in particular, whose vote was questioned, declaring himself unable to say whether he was or was not within the "precincts" of the House, when the question was put; Mr. Fox desisted from disputing his vote, and the numbers were reported by the Tellers as originally taken down, and so declared by me.

Mem.—The word "precincts" was used in this debate; but I explained it to mean "within the outer doors." I ought to have said, "within those doors which are required to be locked upon every division."

18*th*.—Proceeding upon the report of Mr. Pitt's English Additional Forces Bill. Mr. Addington spoke against it at eleven; Mr. Sheridan against it at twelve; Mr. Pitt for it at one; Mr. Fox against it at half-past two. Division at half-past three. For the engrossing the Bill, 265; against it, 223. After the division Mr.

Pitt told me his calculation on the latest information had been, 269 for him, and 231 against him; but of these numbers about 30 had been subject to unascertained biases.

Total in the House present at the division, including the Tellers and Speaker, 493.

This appears to have been the largest number present since 1741, when upon the Silesian papers a Committee was moved for, and upon a division the numbers present were 508. It is to be remembered, however, that the 493 includes a proportion of the 100 members for Ireland added by the Union.

19*th*.—The Bill was read a third time and passed without a division.

But a singular and interesting discussion took place between Mr. Grenville and Mr. Pitt, in which Mr. Grenville, for himself and friends, denied that they had ever expressed themselves as likely to be satisfied with any Government into which Mr. Pitt alone was to be taken, and asserted that they had uniformly insisted upon the necessity of including in it all the great talents of the country. Mr. Grenville repeatedly stated that they had never given any promise of support to such a Government as the present, and that he saw with pain and regret Mr. Pitt in his present situation.

20*th*.—Foster opened his Irish Budget in the House of Commons, and proposed 1,250,000*l*. of taxes, which met with little or no opposition.

21*st*.—Saw Mr. Pitt upon the subject of the Bill for enabling the King to employ foreign troops, viz. the Hanoverians, who had come over since the evacuation of the Electorate.*

22*nd*.—House of Commons. Motion of censure upon the Lord Advocate of Scotland, on account of a letter written by him in December last to the Sheriff of the County of Banff, upon the case of a Mr. Morrison,

* Hanover had been occupied by the Prussians in 1801, and on the breaking out of the war in 1803, it was seized by the French, who occupied it till 1814.

who had dismissed his servant for attending an inspection of volunteers. Debate till half-past two. For reading the orders of the day, 159; against it, 82.

In the course of the Lord Advocate's defence, he gave an interesting and important account of the powers and duties of the office of Lord Advocate, and of the circumstances which, since the Union, had caused all the authority of the great officers of state and of the Scottish Privy Council to centre in the office of Lord Advocate.

25*th.*—House of Commons. Counsel upon the report of the Slave Trade Bill.

28*th.*—Slave Trade Abolition Bill passed on a division, 69 to 33.

29*th.*—Mr. Rose came about vacating his seat upon his appointment to be one of the Joint Paymasters. He had accepted this office six weeks ago, and had vacated according to 6 Anne, c. 7, sec. 26, and had been re-elected; but upon now receiving the appointment while actually in Parliament, he thought it better to vacate again than to risk incurring the penalty of the statute, c. 29, the law officer being of opinion that the penalty of 500*l.* attached upon the acceptance of offices of trust, under sec. 26, as well as of new offices under sec. 25.

Monday, July 2nd.—House of Commons. Received the petition of the British Museum for a grant to erect a building for the Egyptian antiquities and other pieces of sculpture. Some conversation took place upon this subject, and upon the present difficulties of access for strangers to see the Museum. The House ordered a copy of the plan and estimates to be laid before them, with an understood reservation of the question whether a committee should be appointed to consider of them.

In a Committee of Supply Mr. Pitt moved the resolution for paying the Civil List debt, and opened his proposition for increasing the Civil List revenue by adding 60,000*l.* a year, and taking off charges not properly belonging to it, amounting to 140,000*l.* more—

total addition 200,000*l.* a year. These resolutions produced some discussion, but little or no opposition.

In the Committee of Ways and Means Mr. Pitt proposed the Stamp Duties, as opened by Mr. Addington in his Budget, with some variations; total estimated at 740,000*l.* a year.

18*th.*—Went to Mr. Pitt upon the Lords' Amendments to the Corn Bill. Agreed that they must be laid aside, and a new Bill brought in, which being for money, trade, &c., must go through all the regular stages, and would cost a week's more sitting for Parliament; there being only one instance in the last 100 years, viz. the Sinking Fund Bill, in 1792, where the House of Commons had proceeded with any expedition upon a Bill relating to public money, and then even had allowed four separate days to the progress of the Bill through the committee.

23*rd.*—Met the Dean of Christ Church, who told me that Tierney was expected by Mr. Pitt to join him, and that it was supposed he would be Chief Secretary for Ireland.

31*st.*—Vansittart called, and related to me the motives, or rather distinct propositions, made to him from the King through the Duke of Cumberland (with Mr. Pitt's knowledge), offering him the place of Chief Secretary for Ireland. His own answer to be laid before the King, and communicated accordingly, "That he was ready, &c. &c., but could not be useful in any situation unless accepted with Mr. Addington's approbation." And the Duke of Cumberland's subsequent interview with Mr. Pitt, since which nothing had transpired.

This day the King came in person and prorogued Parliament. He looked extremely well, and read the Speech well with great animation, but accidentally turned over two leaves together, and so omitted about one-fourth of his intended Speech. It happened, however, that the transition was not incoherent, and it escaped some of the Cabinet who had heard it before the King delivered it.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE.

[Confidential.] Ely Place, July 21st, 1804.

I cannot be free from apprehensions for the consequences of that power which is transferring from the Lord-Lieutenant to another. Two Governments of Ireland cannot go on well; but it seems now determined to establish three, perhaps four. One, a government of form under the Lord-Lieutenant; a second, a government of influence under Mr. Foster; a third, a government for military affairs, under the Duke of York; and a fourth, for formal communication with the Lord-Lieutenant, under His Majesty, through the Secretary of State. His Majesty and the Lord-Lieutenant are to be the ciphers. The Secretary of State will know as much of the government of Ireland as of that of Kamschatka, and the real ruler will be an independent Prince, under the name of First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland, whom Mr. Pitt will find will be the humble servant of the First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer in England. Instead of increasing the power of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it ought to be abolished. Corry had far too much; and if the Lord-Lieutenant had had that which is necessary to maintan the dignity of his situation under such circumstances, he would have insisted on Mr. Corry's dismission, and on the suppression of the office. He has now put his neck under the feet of Mr Foster, and must expect to be trampled on. Under these circumstances I keep myself as much as I can out of the political world, and heartily wish I had never become Chancellor of Ireland. Very faithfully yours,

REDESDALE.

The Right Hon. the Speaker.

I spent the parliamentary recess at Kidbrooke. During this time the letters from England to India intercepted by the French were published in the French papers.*

Upon the arrangement to be made with the holders

* Among them there were two remarkable letters from Mr. Henry Wellesley and Lord Grenville to Lord Wellesley, giving an account of the negotiations between Pitt and Addington in the preceding year, which, however, differed in no important particulars from that previously given in this Diary.

of the Loyalty Loan, I received the subjoined letter from Mr. Pitt:—

Downing Street, Sept. 19th, 1804.

My dear Sir,—The occasion of my giving you this trouble arises out of the Act of the last Session, respecting the Loyalty Loan. The Lords of the Treasury are thereby empowered to declare on or before the 20th inst., their option for granting to the holders of each hundred pounds stock, either one hundred pounds Navy five per cents., with such a portion of three per cents. reduced, as will bring the value to a hundred pounds sterling; or to give the whole of such value in these three per cents. By an unlucky continuance of the inaccuracy which seems to have pervaded all the Acts respecting the Loyalty Loan, the value of these stocks is to be ascertained by the average price of the last ten transfer days *previous to the tenth of October;* instead of previous to the *twentieth of September*, on which day the option must be made.

This circumstance is of no consequence as far as relates to the three per cents., which are now shut, and in which there will be no more transfer days till after the 10th of October. But as the Navy five per cents. will continue open till that day, and as the holders of Loyalty Stock are not bound to determine whether they accept the proposed terms till the 5th of October, an interval would occur in which measures might be taken for artificially depressing that stock previous to the average being computed, and an unfair advantage might be taken against the public, in the event of the Treasury making its option for five per cents. in preference to three.

This option it is certainly desirable to make, as the capital to be created in five per cents. will be less by twelve millions than in three. On consulting with the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank, they have agreed with me in thinking that the only effectual remedy against any such unfair practices as I have described would be to give a discretional power from the Commissioners of the National Debt to purchase in the five per cents. at any time during the interval in which the price of that stock should be materially depressed below the proportion which it now bears to the three per cents.

A depression of one or two per cent., the Governor and Deputy seem to think, might not unnaturally take place, but anything beyond it they think must be artificial. On these grounds we have prepared an authority to the cashier to include

the five per cents. in their purchases when they shall be so directed by the Governor; and have drawn up a minute explaining in what manner we wish his discretion to be exercised. As there are only three Commissioners within reach, I have thought that you would excuse my inclosing these papers to you, and troubling you with this long detail. I flatter myself that you will think that the measure proposed is so evidently for the public advantage, and so fair in its effects towards individuals, that we ought not to hesitate in adopting it.

In that case I will request you to have the goodness to return the papers to me with your signature. I hope that you have been enjoying your holidays during our second summer; and you will probably be enabled to extend them through much of the autumn, as it is not proposed that Parliament shall meet till the 27th of November. I am, with great regard,

My dear Sir, faithfully and sincerely yours, W. PITT.

LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE TO MR. ABBOT.

Ely Place, Dublin, Sept. 8th, 1804.

My dear Sir,—I came here this morning from my farm that I might look into the Acts to which you refer. According to my recollection one case of this kind occurred while I was Speaker, and upon consultation with Hatsell, Mr. Ley, and Mr. Addington, I declined issuing the warrant. The 24 George III., c. 20, clearly does not apply. The Act, incorporated with and made part of the Act of Union, applies only to the case of a vacancy certified to the Chancellor of Ireland by the *proper warrant*, without authorising the issuing of that warrant. It seems to me, therefore, that no authority for issuing a warrant in the existing case is given by any Act; and I think it would be very difficult to frame a law on the subject. The writ of summons is the ground of the warrant in the case of succession to a Peerage of Great Britain; but if that writ has not issued, however clear the right to it may be, the Speaker cannot issue his warrant.

In the case of succession to an Irish Peerage, it must, for the purpose of election, be claimed and allowed by the House of Lords; but I apprehend that this claim and allowance is not necessary for all purposes; and that, therefore, a person who is member for an Irish county, &c., becoming entitled to a Peer-

age, his seat must be deemed to be the seat vacated, whether he shall have claimed or not, if his title be clear.

Otherwise, in the case of succession to a Scotch Peerage, the Peer might continue to sit, notwithstanding his Peerage; and the Irishman, by not claiming his Peerage, might do the same. But this cannot be left, I think, to the Speaker: for, if the Member becoming an Irish Peer represents an English county, &c., he may remain a Member if he so pleases. It seems to me, therefore, that the difficulty cannot be removed with any degree of prudence, and must, therefore, remain.

The same difficulty applying to a Scotch Peerage must have been in the view of the Legislature when the Act of the 24 George III., was made, and not providing for it, they seemed to have admitted it could not be provided for.

I recollect having some doubt as to the proper evidence of succession to a Peerage in the case of Lord Donelly, Henry Sadleir Prittie. That was merely asserted to the House by Mr. Corry, in moving for the writ. But the same thing happens in the case of the acceptance of a place, &c., the House relying on the assertion of its Member. But suppose on the death of the late Lord Annesley, Mr. Richard Annesley, his brother, had represented an Irish county or borough. He asserts himself to be, and is by Government styled, Earl Annesley; yet there is a person claiming to be the legitimate son of the late Lord who is disputing his right to the title and estate. In such a case, I apprehend, there would be no ground for issuing a warrant for a writ, even if the words used in the Act of Parliament had been more loose.

The state of politics, my dear Speaker, is very uncomfortable. The violence of party, I understand, to be great; the Prince of Wales highly discontented; the Queen, the Princesses Augusta and Elizabeth and the Dukes of Clarence, Kent, and Sussex, taking his part; whilst the Dukes of York, Cumberland, and Cambridge, and the younger Princesses, adhere to the King: and I am told the breach every day grows wider. You mention that the Princess Charlotte is to be sent to Windsor for education: I hear strange rumours on that subject; and that the marriage of the Princess of Wales is to be impeached. Surely this cannot be seriously thought of by any but the Roman Catholics: they talk pretty loudly that Mrs. Fitzherbert is the lawful wife, and that the Princess of Wales is not lawfully married. One's blood runs cold at such language. Surely the eyes of men must soon be opened to the danger which threatens us. But the ignorance of even generally well-informed people here is extra-

ordinary. I have scarcely met with a man here who was aware that the Irish Roman Catholic oath of allegiance is rather against than to the Protestant succession, under certain possible circumstances, to which they evidently look; and I found Dr. Graves, of the College, the other day, quite ignorant of the existence of convents in Ireland, and staring with surprise at a legacy of 500*l.* to a Franciscan Convent, to be made a fund for ever to pray for the soul of the testator; a sort of legacy which Dr. Duigenan says comes continually under his view. At the same time the Clergy of the Established Church are so negligent of their duties, and the Bishops in general so intent on the accumulation of wealth, and of preferments in their families, and Lords insisting that their booby sons must be Bishops, however unfit for the duties even of a curate; that the overthrow of the establishment must take place if a reform should not early be made. These melancholy ideas press perhaps too much on my mind, and unfortunately the Ministers in England will not believe that there is ground for any apprehension on the subject.

Very faithfully yours, REDESDALE.

At Lord Sheffield's, on the 27th September, I met Sir James Pulteney. He stated the defence of Kent and Sussex to consist of 50,000 men; that materials were laid upon the shore on several parts of the coast for building towers, but no further preparations or progress; that the state of the beacons was now under survey.

On the 29th of October Mr. Addington came, and left us on the 30th. We had a full conversation on the state of things, and upon his own future line of conduct.

His line will be that of frequent, but not constant, attendance in Parliament, and to deliver his sentiments freely upon all questions of importance, whether for or against the measures of Government; but with a wish to be able to support them, for the King's ease and the public service, which he considers at this time as peculiarly identified; to disclaim all appearance of making or keeping together any party of his own. This he had distinctly told to Lord Hobart, Tierney, and others.

The total failure of Mr. Pitt's Bill for raising men for the army he considers as the completest refutation of

the alleged merits of the plan on which Mr. Pitt raised himself to power; and the productiveness of the revenue received from the war-taxes he considers as the fullest justification of his financial measures; appealing to the finance resolutions of the House of Commons, at the close of the session, as recording the merits of his Treasury administration. Vansittart is preparing a statement to be published in explanation of the matters contained in those resolutions. The naval defence, as planned by Lord St. Vincent, has not been superseded by any better plan; and no attempt to prevent the French small craft from assembling at Boulogne had succeeded.

The King is wonderfully recovered by his journey to Weymouth; and all agree that he is perfectly well. He has sent one picture of himself for Mr. Addington's room at the White Lodge, in Richmond Park, and proposes to send another in his full robes, to be placed in the great drawing-room there. Mr. Addington showed me the King's letter announcing this latter picture. The expressions in the letter were in the highest degree kind and flattering; it says "he has chosen to be painted in the royal robes, and in that state of ceremony in which he had been accustomed to hear the most honest and upright Speaker whom the House of Commons had ever chosen, recapitulate, at the end of each session, the proceedings of Parliament, in a manner reflecting the highest honour on his own moral, religious, and constitutional principle." These were nearly the words.

The Queen lives upon ill terms with the King; they never sleep or dine together. All the books and pictures are removing from the Queen's House in London to Windsor Castle.

A reconciliation between the Prince of Wales and the King is to be attempted next week. Mr. Pitt and Tierney have laboured at it incessantly. The place of Chief-Secretary in Ireland was offered by Mr. Pitt, in August last, to Tierney, who declined it for temporary

reasons, in reply to which Mr. Pitt said the appointment did not press, and he hoped he should be able to renew the offer under more propitious circumstances. This is Mr. Tierney's own narrative.

Mr. Addington, in June, 1803, and February, 1804, received overtures from Mr. Fox for joining him, but put them aside. In March last the Chancellor had a *tête-à-tête* dinner with Mr. Pitt, of which he acquainted Mr. Addington a month afterwards; and after Mr. Addington had resolved upon his own resignation in order to give the King a freer choice of a Ministry, the Chancellor delivered to the King a letter from Mr. Pitt, in which there were expressions injurious to Mr. Addington. Against this proceeding Mr. Addington remonstrated with the Chancellor on the night before the new Ministry was formed; and told him at a cabinet meeting that to have done so was unpardonable.

The King considered the proposal of Mr. Fox only as an ostensible measure, and told Mr. Pitt so; and Mr. Pitt did not press it. The proposal was made in a letter from Mr. Pitt to the Chancellor, which the Chancellor was to show to the King, and which he did show accordingly.

But the Chancellor himself said to Mr. Addington that to have such a proposal made by Mr. Pitt must give the deepest regret and disgust to all Mr. Pitt's personal friends; and to those who were attached by honest prejudice to Mr. Pitt's general system of past government, it could be considered with nothing short of execration. These words had made a lasting impression on Mr. Addington's memory.

The Princess of Wales gives great uneasiness by her unguarded conduct. The Duchess of York is soon to return to Germany.

The Prince of Wales means to dispute the King's right to educate the Princess Charlotte of Wales.

After Canning's attack upon Lord Hawkesbury, when he was transferred from the Foreign to the Home De-

partment, Lord Hawkesbury wrote to Mr. Pitt, and resigned. Mr. Pitt wrote in explanation, and offered to dismiss Canning if required. But Lord Hawkesbury did not insist: Lord Liverpool has the letters, and shows them. Lord Harrowby is expected to resign soon on account of his health, and Lord Castlereagh to succeed him; Tierney probably to be President of the Board of Control.

Mr. Addington had not as yet mentioned his own proposed line of conduct to anybody, except to Hatsell, on his way down to me. I reminded him of my former advice to him to have accepted the peerage, &c., but under present circumstances entirely concurred with him in thinking the line he proposed to be the best, urging the necessity of strictly avoiding all party colouring in his speeches, and avoiding also in his private habits of society all frequency of intercourse with persons who were, or might wish to be thought, party-leaders or intriguers.

He said repeatedly, speaking of his accidental conversations with Lord Melville, that nothing could induce him to accept any share of the present government, but that, considering himself as the party injured, he could not in honour or with any utility make any approaches to a reconciliation with Mr. Pitt, but that a single expression of genuine kindness and sense of justice towards him would be fully sufficient to renew with him the sentiments of early and long friendship, although it could never be again what it had been.

December.—The war with Holkar, now said to be terminated favourably for the Company, has been undertaken by Lord Wellesley without communication with his Council, or the other Presidencies, or any notification of it to the East India Company (so the Chairman of the Company told me), or any to the King's Government (so says the Board of Control). Lord Wellesley issued his own orders to the army, and no official account of the beginning or end of it has reached England. A Spanish war certain. The Dutch

Admiral refuses to act under military orders from the French in Holland.

The King is harassed by family disputes. The Queen persists in living entirely separate. The Prince of Wales was understood at first to have consented to the King having the education of the Princess Charlotte, but now he denies it. Mr. Pitt assured the King that it was consented to on the authority of Lord Moira; but Lord Moira denies that he ever authorised Mr. Pitt to say so. In the meantime the Princess Charlotte is removed to Carlton House, and the matter is to be litigated. The Prince, it is said, sometimes denies and sometimes admits that he had consented, but that it was *before he had seen* the King at Windsor.

His Royal Highness has made an affidavit in Chancery upon the question between Lord Hugh Seymour's family and Mrs. Fitzherbert, about removing Lord Hugh's daughter from Mrs. Fitzherbert. His affidavit is that Mrs. Fitzherbert is the fittest person for educating the child, and, he verily believes, will never interfere with the religious part of her education. Mrs. Fitzherbert has made an affidavit also to the same effect.

It is reported that Lord Harrowby, before his accident, complained that the orders for detaining the Spanish frigates were signed on the 18th, but that he was not made acquainted with the fact until after he had an interview with the Spanish Ambassador on the 25th. His accident, however, as well as his preceding ill health, are considered as rendering it impossible for him to continue in his office. Lord Macartney has positively declined the seals. Lord Malmesbury is said to be so much recovered in health as to be thought of, and Lord Mulgrave is also spoken of.

The Duke of York is much complained of as involving the country in great and unauthorised expenses.

Lord Melville has sent Lord Glenbervie's proposition for a standing committee of Council to superintend the management of the woods and forests to the Treasury for official consideration.

Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington. On Wednesday last, Dec. 12th, Mr. Pitt, with the previous sanction of the King, sent Lord Hawkesbury to Mr. Addington with overtures for a junction, as related to me by Vansittart on Saturday, Dec. 15th.

Lord Hawkesbury: Mr. Pitt is desirous of renewing his ancient habits of friendship with Mr. Addington, and living upon the same terms of personal and confidential intimacy as formerly when they constituted his happiness; and thus far without any reference to future political arrangements and without retrospect. It would, however, be most satisfactory to have their friendship reestablished in the public opinion by Mr. Addington's accepting a share in the Government.

Mr. Addington: Perfectly desirous of renewing a friendship which it had always been his greatest satisfaction to enjoy; but he had no desire whatever to take any office.

Lord Hawkesbury: That the reconciliation would not be considered by the public as complete whilst Mr. Addington remained out of office. That, after the situations he had filled, he could not with propriety remain a secondary person in the House of Commons, and that it was proposed that he should be called up to the House of Peers and become Lord President of the Council; that it was understood that there were four persons in the House of Commons for whom he must naturally expect provision to be made, viz., Bathurst, Hiley Addington, Bond, and Vansittart; that for the two latter Government had offices actually vacant; Bond to be Judge Advocate General, and Vansittart Chief Secretary in Ireland. And that for the other two, it was hoped, offices might soon be found.

Mr. Addington: He was always averse to a peerage; he had formerly refused it in the most peremptory but respectful manner when pressed by the King, but, for the present object, and considering the weight of the reasons which belonged to present circumstances, he would not make his own repugnance a bar to the gene-

ral arrangement. That, besides the persons named in the House of Commons, there were two in the House of Lords whom he must wish to have considered : Lord St. Vincent and Lord Hobart, now Lord Buckinghamshire.

Lord Hawkesbury: Mr. Pitt entertained very high respect for the former, and every disposition to consider him, but could not say he had the same feelings towards the latter.

Mr. Addington added, as a matter of private friendship, he should be glad if something could be done for Hobhouse.

Lord Hawkesbury was to report the conference to Mr. Pitt.

The King was to see Mr. Addington.

The Duke of Cumberland told Vansittart on Monday last that Vansittart was now to go to Ireland as formerly intended, but that it would make part of a more extended arrangement than had been then proposed.

Mr. Addington communicated this to Vansittart on Thursday, and was to see him again on Saturday.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM LORD REDESDALE.

Arduin, Dec. 31st, 1804.

Sir Wm. Scott gave me the first intelligence which I could depend upon of the reconciliation. He attributed it in a great degree to the exertions of Lord Melville and Lord Hawkesbury, seconded by His Majesty.

CHAP. XXI.

1805.

LETTER FROM MR. VANSITTART. — UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN PITT AND ADDINGTON. — BUONAPARTE'S LETTER TO THE KING. — PROCEEDINGS PREVIOUS TO PITT'S RESUMPTION OF OFFICE. — BUDGET. — NEGOTIATIONS OF THE IRISH CATHOLICS WITH PITT. — CHARGES AGAINST LORD MELVILLE. — LETTERS FROM LORD AUCKLAND. — CONVERSATION WITH THE PRINCE OF WALES. — H.R.H'S FRIENDS OBJECT TO PRESSING THE CLAIMS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLICS.

LETTER FROM MR. VANSITTART TO MR. ABBOT.

[Most Secret.] Bisham Abbey, Jan. 1st, 1805.

My dear Speaker, — I am just returned here from Richmond Park, between which and town I have spent the last three days. If I had written to you on any one of them I should have led you into some error, as whatever appeared fixed on one day was unsettled the next. Two great points, however, appear to be ascertained; first that the intercourse between the two principal parties is of a really cordial and confidential nature; and secondly that Mr. Addington has conquered his reluctance to the House of Lords; a circumstance which has always appeared to me essential to the stability of their union. Much, however, remains to be done; and unless greater activity is used than has hitherto appeared, things will be in a very confused state at the meeting of Parliament.

With respect to myself nothing seems clear, except that I am not to go to Ireland; and therefore that you will be spared the trouble of a great number of inquiries. What is not the least extraordinary circumstance is that Canning is the person now talked of. I shall remain in the country till Thursday the 10th, when Mr. Pitt is to give us a dinner at Roehampton. He has behaved with great civility to me, and explained the business of July last so far as it is capable of explanation.

Believe me, my dear Sir, faithfully yours,

N. Vansittart.

Saturday, Jan. 12th.—Saw Mr. Addington with Mr. Pitt in Downing Street. Mr. Pitt put into my hands the draft of the King's speech, and a copy of Buonaparte's letter to the King (which arrived this week), proposing peace in general terms. It began "Monsieur mon frère," and ended "Votre bon frère." The beginning of it announced that he had been called to the throne by Providence, the senate, the people, and the army; and the rest of the paper, which was very long, consisted of reasonings, expostulations, and insinuations (in the true Talleyrand style), all urging the sincerity of Buonaparte's wishes for peace, and the policy which should induce England to accept these offers for putting an end to a war without object and without end, &c. &c. We had some conversation afterwards upon House of Commons business; and I left them together. Their manner towards each other was cold and constrained.

14th.—At a council to-day Lord Sidmouth was appointed President.*

Vansittart told me the progress had been thus. On Saturday, 29th December, Mr. Addington wrote to Mr. Pitt, repeating his desire to remain in the House of Commons; at the same time that he was ready to support the King's Government without office. But if it was deemed necessary that he should go up to the House of Peers he must hold some high office, and bring with him into the Cabinet one of his former colleagues, naming Lord Hobart (now Lord Buckinghamshire), as well as place some of his personal friends—Bond, Vansittart, and Bathurst†—in official employments. To this, on Monday, December 31st, Mr. Pitt replied at considerable length, preferring the latter course. The Duke of Portland was then written to, and he declined continuing Lord President, or taking the Duchy of Lancaster; and consequently these two offices were vacant for Mr. Addington and Lord Hobart. Of the subordinate arrangements none were finally settled, but

* Mr. Addington was created Lord Sidmouth a day or two before.

† Mr. Bragge had lately taken the name of Bathurst.

it was understood that Bond was to be Judge Advocate, and Vansittart one of the joint paymasters. The Chief Secretaryship of Ireland undisposed of.

In the course of the day "Moniteurs" were received by the newspaper editors containing Buonaparte's speech to his senate, and his *exposé* of the state of the French Empire, of great length and particularity; and insisting expressly, as to England, that a consent to abide by the terms of the Treaty of Amiens and the surrender of Malta were the requisite proofs of a pacific disposition.

15*th*.—[Parliament opened.] The King read his speech with uncommon spirit and distinctness.

In the House of Commons Mr. Fox and Mr. Wyndham commented on the Address without opposing it; noticing the omission of any mention of the Catholics, or of the failure of the Bill for augmenting the Army. Mr. Pitt replied shortly, and the House rose before six.

10*th*.—House of Commons; no debate on the report of the Address. Dr. Duigenan desired me to mention to Mr. Pitt his intention of moving for a Bill to enforce residences in Ireland, and to put the draft of the Bill into his hands, which I did accordingly.

20*th*.—Went to Richmond Park to Lord Sidmouth, and had a long conversation with him upon all that had occurred in the recent changes.

Lord Sidmouth related to me the whole from beginning to end, and showed me the King's letter, and his own to Pitt, and Pitt's answer, with authority to mention any or every part of the transaction at my own discretion, as I might think useful.

The first step was taken by Mr. Pitt in a letter to the King, towards the approach of the session, stating that he had thought it his duty to consider of the state of parties with a view to the support of his Majesty's Government, and submitting, &c. &c.

After which Lord Hawkesbury, by Pitt's desire, under the King's approbation, wrote to Mr. Addington to request a meeting on the subject; and accordingly, on

Wednesday the 11th of December, Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Addington met.

The substance of this conversation is the same as I have noted in my journal of 14th December, with these additional circumstances.

After Lord Hawkesbury had opened his commission, Mr. Addington stopped him, to ask distinctly whether what he was authorised to propose originated in a sense of the difficulties of Government; or in a corrected and altered feeling towards him. To which the answer was, that the proposition to be made was accompanied with the most thorough cordiality and personal confidence, &c. And upon this explanation of the sentiments which accompanied the overture it proceeded.

At the close of the conversation, Mr. Addington, besides naming the persons who were to be considered as his attached friends, if any arrangement took place, also stated that there were others whom it was necessary to mention at this time, though they stood in relations not justifying him in proposing them for Mr. Pitt's consideration, because they were entitled to consider themselves as older or more attached friends to Mr. Pitt than to himself: Steele and Yorke, for such and such reasons respectively.

On the Friday following, the difficulties of admitting Lord Buckinghamshire into the Cabinet, &c. &c., were considered to be such that the matter came to an end. Mr. Addington abided by his proposition; Lord Castlereagh endeavoured in vain on the Sunday to alter his determination, and he went to Wiltshire for the following week.

Upon his return to Richmond Park on Saturday the 23rd, he received a note from Lord Hawkesbury, that the difficulties were at an end. On the Sunday Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Addington met, and it was agreed that what remained could only be settled personally between Mr. Addington and Mr. Pitt.

On the Monday they met at Combe Wood. Lord Hawkesbury quitted the room before Mr. Pitt came

into it, and Mr. Pitt, upon entering, stretched out his hand to Mr. Addington; "I rejoice to take you by the hand again." The interview continued three hours without any third person present; and, as may be imagined, not without some emotion. The general outlines were discussed between them, of public affairs and the proposed arrangements; Mr. Addington professing then and throughout his anxious wish to continue in the House of Commons, supporting the King's Government with a seat in the Cabinet, that he might share the responsibility, but without office or honour.

Tuesday, 25th [Dec.], the King wrote to Mr. Addington, and to Mrs. Addington and to Mr. Pitt, expressing in the warmest terms his satisfaction at the interview which had taken place, and the revival of "early beatitudes of friendship" between two persons most attached to him, and to their country, &c. This letter I saw.

Wednesday, 26th [Dec.], Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington dined together alone, and renewed the topics of their former conversation, upon which Mr. Addington was to give his further determination on the Friday following to Mr. Pitt, who would meet him at Hatsell's.

On the Friday, by some accident, Mr. Pitt did not keep his appointment.

On the Saturday Mr. Addington wrote a letter to Mr. Pitt, containing the result of his deliberation, and adhering to his original desire of remaining in the House of Commons, unless Mr. Pitt should think the peerage absolutely necessary towards making the junction effectual, in which case the office he was to have must be efficient. The Duchy of Lancaster he would not consent to take for life as a provision; nor did he consider it as the office which would answer the purposes proposed.

On the Sunday Mr. Pitt (who had in the meantime explained and excused his not keeping the appointment for the Friday) announced that upon the fullest consideration he did think the Peerage essential, and with

respect to the office, he would write to the Duke of Portland.

This was replied to by Mr. Addington consenting to it; and so the arrangement was completed. These three letters I saw.

On the Saturday it happened that, after Mr. Addington had sent off his letter to Mr. Pitt (without consulting or showing it to any of his friends or family, except his son), the King came unexpectedly to Richmond Park, and had a long conversation, expressing his satisfaction at the reconciliation, and proceeding to talk of the Princess Charlotte's education, &c. Upon which subject he commanded Mr. Addington to come to him at Kew on the Wednesday following.

Upon the Wednesday Mr. Addington went to Kew, where the King was dining, and commanded him, as he does any equerry, to be seated whilst the dinner was going on. But no conversation whatever took place then respecting the official arrangements to be made.

Nor did the King make the smallest allusion to that subject at any time, until afterwards, upon Mr. Addington's kissing hands for the Peerage, the King said, "I am glad to have you with me again." This proof of the King's honourable and exclusive confidence in his Minister, and his abstaining to hold communication with the person most interested in the future arrangement until it was completed by the Minister himself, was mentioned by Mr. Addington to Mr. Pitt, and made a strong impression.

Beyond this, Mr. Addington told Mr. Pitt that it was impossible but numberless accidents might occur of words or things ascribed to one or other of them, which, if unexplained as they arose, might tend to create uneasiness in future; and urged that they might always be communicated instantaneously, as the surest extinction of any future misunderstanding which, after the dreadful lesson they both had received, would be of the utmost importance to them.

Before a complete support was promised, explana-

tions took place; first, upon the Spanish war and its grounds; secondly, on the Defence Bill.

Steele and Pitt shook hands on Thursday last. As to Long, no difficulty arose in an immediate reconciliation with Addington; but as to Canning, Mr. Addington said, his feelings never could be altered; he never could meet him, but he had no desire to interfere with his private friendships or prospects of success.

23*rd.* — Vansittart called. The arrangement for Mr. Addington's friends not yet settled.

26*th.* — At dinner I told Mr. Pitt of my disposition to contribute my endeavours towards introducing a better legislative style into our bills; and that the best way appeared to me to be, by putting the original formation of them upon better principles, as to expression, enactment, &c., to which he entirely agreed; and I am to give notices to Harrison, &c.;

Monday, February 11*th.* — Debate on the address upon the Spanish papers till one in the morning. Then adjourned. Mr. Pitt opened the debate in a speech of two hours and a half; Mr. Grey as long; Lord Castlereagh, Lord Temple, and Sir John Nicholl, each an hour.

12*th.* — Adjourned debate upon the Spanish papers, lasted till five in the morning. Division; for the address, 313; against it, 106.

15*th.* — Bill ordered for the abolition of the Slave Trade. Went through Irish Habeas Corpus Suspension Bill in Committee. Division upon filling up the blanks, on Lord Henry's Petty's motion for two months, with a view to a Committee of Inquiry; for the two months, 54; against it, 159.

18*th.*—Budget supply. Great Britain, 37,000,000*l.*; joint contributions, separate charge, 7,000,000*l.*; total 44,000,000*l.*

Ways and Means. Surpluses, 7,000,000*l.*; War Taxes, 15,000,000*l.*; Loan, 22,000,000*l.*; total, 44,000,000*l.*

Taxes to defray Loan; increase on Post Office, salt,

horses, and legacies; besides 25 per cent. increase on Property Tax.

21*st.* — House of Commons. Mr. Wyndham's motion for a Committee on the Defence Bills; for it, 96; against it, 242. The only speakers were, Mr. Wyndham for three hours and a half, and Mr. Canning in reply; and after a few words from Sir Wm. Young, the division took place at half-past ten. Mr. Sheridan gave notice of a motion for repealing the Defence Bill, on Tuesday, March 5th.

26*th.* — Sir Evan Nepean* came about papers ordered by the House of Commons to be returned from Ireland. He explained his difference with Lord Hardwicke there.

Last summer, Marshall (formerly private secretary to Marshall Conway, afterwards to Lord Castlereagh, and for a few weeks my private secretary) came to Sir E. Nepean from Mr. Scully, the Catholic barrister and pamphleteer, to say that the Catholics wished much to know Mr. Pitt's sentiments, and that they would communicate to Sir E. Nepean, for Mr. Pitt's information, all their proceedings, *provided he, Sir E. Nepean, would not make it known to the Lord-Lieutenant, or Lord Redesdale, or any of the Irish Government.* That accordingly they did so, and Sir E. Nepean reported it regularly to Mr. Pitt. That Lord Fingal, an honourable but weak man, ostensibly communicated between the Catholics and the Lord-Lieutenant; but that, at last, the Lord-Lieutenant had discovered this private intercourse, and had complained that he was counteracted by his own chief secretary, &c. &c., and therefore had refused to hold any further official communication with him. Sir E. Nepean had answered the Lord-Lieutenant's letter denying that he had counteracted, &c., insisting that he had enforced the same measures; and avowing that his private intercourse with the Catholics was with the privity of the English Government. I told him that I thought it

* He had lately been Irish Secretary.

might well admit of a difference of opinion, whether any one in the situation of chief secretary to the Lord-Lieutenant was at liberty to accept information of that nature, accompanied with a condition of concealing it from the Lord-Lieutenant, without having the Lord-Lieutenant's sanction for such a proceeding. Sir E. Nepean allowed this to be the matter at issue; and so we ended this part of our conversation.

28*th.* — House of Commons. Slave Trade Bill; second reading put off for six months, 77 to 70.

Wednesday, March 6*th.* — House of Commons. Sheridan's motion for repeal of Mr. Pitt's Defence Act. Debate till half-past three; for it, 127; against it, 267.

11*th.* — House of Commons. Middlesex Sheriffs heard by council upon the evidence from the Committee. Sent to Newgate for their misconduct at the election of 1802 without a division. The Solicitor-General, Gibbs*, made his first speech, and was extremely well heard. Neither Mr. Pitt nor Mr. Fox spoke.

12*th.*—Husbandry Horse Duty Bill of 7*s.* 6*d.* each thrown out on second reading: 76 to 73. Salt Duty Bill, third reading, passed by 92 to 54. Passed the Additional Property Duty Bill.

13*th.*—Lord John Thynne had sat and voted since his re-election (having accepted the office of Treasurer of the Household) without taking the oaths, &c. We looked through the Acts of Parliament, and settled the course of proceeding. The Bishop of Oxford came about his Bill for repealing the restriction of the Mortmain Act, which prevents colleges from purchasing more livings than are equal in number to one half of their fellows.

After the Bishop left me I went to Mr. Pitt, and stated to him Lord John Thynne's case; also the Bishop of Oxford's intended Bill; and proposed to him to take it under his protection when it came to the House of

* Afterwards Sir Vicary Gibbs, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

Commons; which he expressed himself to be desirous of doing. After conversing upon the business of the session, he told me that the prospect of continental co-operation was highly flattering; and that if no untoward accidents intervened, there was a well-founded expectation that Austria and Russia would join in curbing France; and that there would be 400,000 men in arms against France at the beginning of the campaign.

We talked over the failure of the Bill of the preceding evening; and he said "he would be ready with another tax to supply its place, to be carried through before Easter; about which time the subsidy question would be ready."

He asked me at parting what would be the proper time for beginning public business every day. I said I thought half-past four, if he could come. He said by all means; it was just as easy for him to come at that hour as at any other. He actually came *at five.*

18*th.*—House of Commons. Steele moved Lord John Thynne's writ; and afterwards leave to bring in a bill of indemnity for him for having sat and voted since his re-election without taking the oaths. It was accordingly brought in and read a first time.

19*th.*—House of Commons. Mr. Fox gave notice that he should on Monday present the Catholic petition. Mr. Grey (for Mr. Whitbread) fixed Thursday fortnight for a motion upon the Tenth Naval Report.*

* The Committee for inquiring into the state of our naval establishments presented a series of reports, in the tenth of which, relating to the office of the Treasurer, they reported, among other things, that "The sums standing in the name of the Treasurer of the Navy at the Bank had been for the most part considerably less than the unappropriated balances;" that Mr. Trotter, the Paymaster, "had acknowledged that he had been in the practice of drawing money from the Bank in large sums, and lodging it in the hands of private bankers; and that Lord Melville had admitted that he had permitted Mr. Trotter to do so." Mr. Trotter, "moreover, had admitted that he had occasionally laid out (in compliance with Lord Melville's instructions) 10,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* for his use or benefit, without considering whether such advances were made out of public or private balances." That Lord Melville "had declared that he could not say what had been done with some of these sums without disclosing delicate and confidential transactions of Government, which his duty to the public must restrain him from reveal-

23*rd*.—The Chancellor came to discuss the British Museum appointments. Whilst he was with me it was agreed that he should write to the Archbishop of Canterbury to claim our right* of being consulted upon the election of trustees; and to state our intention of having the persons considered whom we then were to appoint to the vacant offices. The Archbishop of Canterbury came to my levée in the evening. He said in a complaining sort of tone that the Chancellor had been so good as to give him a great deal of advice and instruction about the British Museum appointments and elections; that he wished Lord St. Helens to be a trustee; that the Chancellor had proposed no name, and pressed me much to name persons. I told the Archbishop that I would fairly tell him that the principles which should, in my opinion, govern the choice were rank and literary character conjointly or severally, general respectability of character, and residence for a considerable part of the year in London.

25*th*.—House of Commons. Mr. Fox presented the Catholic petition, and gave notice of a motion upon it for the 9th of May. No observations were made upon the merits of it by any member, except Mr. Cartwright, who expressed his regret that the question was now brought forward when it was known that it could not succeed.

I have seldom seen the House fuller.

28*th*.—No declaration from Mr. Pitt as yet of the part he means to take upon the Tenth Report. The rest of the Cabinet unacquainted with it. In the House of Commons much dissatisfaction amongst the general supporters of the Administration.

29*th*.—Canning gave me a short statement by way of letter from Lord Melville to the Commissioners of

ing;" and "had objected to inform the Committee whether he had derived any profit or advantage from the use or employment of money issued for carrying on the current service of the navy, on the express ground that no one was compellable to answer any question which might tend to criminate him." — See the whole report, *Hansard*, 15th ser., vol. iii. p. 1147.

* As ex-officio trustees.

Naval Inquiry, alleging Trotter's confusion of his accounts of public and private money as the reason why it was impossible for Lord Melville to swear that, in the advances made to him by Trotter as his private agent, Lord Melville might not have had some use of public money in Trotter's hands. I returned the statement at night.

Monday, April 1st.—Mr. Pitt moved for a copy of Lord Melville's letter to the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry.

N.B. It is understood that Lord Sidmouth, Lord Buckinghamshire, and Lord Hawkesbury have expressed their opinion that Lord Melville, notwithstanding his explanatory paper, should either stand an inquiry or resign altogether.

4th.—Bishop of London called on the Curates' Bill. Sir Wm. Scott brought in this Bill in 1803, which was thrown out by the Lords at the end of the session, upon a groundless objection, as a tacking Bill. The Chancellor at the time admitted to me that it was groundless. Sir Wm. Scott undertook to bring it in early in the next session of 1804, but brought it in late, and let it drop. Now, in 1805, he hesitates, and thinks his constituents at Oxford will disapprove of it.

5th.—House of Commons. Mr. Francis's motion for a resolution to adhere to the principles of 1782, and the subsequent Acts against extension of territory in India. Previous question carried by 105 to 46.

6th.—Went in the evening to see the young Roscius* in Achmet, in Barbarossa. Perfect grace of action; an eloquent eye, and powerful expression of countenance, though with features regular and elegant; a distinct and varied elocution, and a just conception of his character. His voice, however, rather thick and clouded, an occasional tendency to rant, and some false cadences; upon the whole an astonishing performance for his years, highly pleasing and interesting.

* A boy of the name of Betty, at this time about ten years old.

7th.—Called upon Mr. Pitt by appointment, and gave him my collection of precedents applicable to the business of to-morrow; telling him at the same time, as the truth was, that "I had not had any intercourse with anybody upon the subject, which had not sought me, nor had I sought it." He thanked me, and told me that he understood from Grey through Canning that the course intended by Opposition was, first to go into a Committee of the whole House, and then to move resolutions of fact deduced from the Tenth Report; concluding with some resolutions of censure. That his present intention was to move for a Secret Committee to be appointed by ballot, by whom the examination of the many points arising upon the report could be more conveniently conducted than by any debate in the House. But that he was expecting the Master of the Rolls and Attorney and Solicitor Generals upon the subject.

He then showed me instructions which he had just received from Cambridge University to support the Bishop of Oxford's Bill for repealing the restrictions in the Mortmain Act which prevent colleges from purchasing more advowsons than half their own number of fellows. I also mentioned the Curates' Bill, which Sir W. Scott had abandoned, but he said the Attorney-General, who was not so easily intimidated, had undertaken it. Here our conversation ended.

In the course of my ride from Downing Street, I met Lord Sidmouth in the King's Road, who made me get into his chaise, that he might relate to me what had lately passed as to Lord Melville. It was as follows:—

That from the time of his conversation with me upon the Museum election, he had not had any opening with Mr. Pitt upon the subject till yesterday se'nnight; when Mr. Pitt first asked his opinion upon it. That he had then distinctly told Mr. Pitt, without reserve, as an opinion pronounced to him for the first time, and uncommunicated to any other person whatever, not only the improbability but the impossibility of Lord Melville clearing himself with the public; that he (Lord Sid-

mouth) had not talked upon the subject with his own friends to bind, or even to sound them, as to their proposed conduct; but he could have little doubt of their sentiments, and how they would act, particularly those who had held public situations. He warned Mr. Pitt of the danger of committing himself in a defence of Lord Melville, by which he must hurt himself with the nation, and which would render it impracticable for him, Lord Sidmouth, to continue of the same Government, even if Lord Melville should ultimately withdraw. Mr. Pitt said, such an event would be destruction; and that, if Lord Sidmouth's friends concurred in the proposed vote of censure, it must and would be carried. Lord Sidmouth suggested that the only course to be taken was to refer the inquiry to a Committee, which would relieve Mr. Pitt from the dangerous task of attempting to defend Lord Melville; and would also make Lord Melville's fall, if he was to fall, the work of other hands, and not Mr. Pitt's own act.

After this conversation, nothing material had passed till Thursday last, when Lord Sidmouth went to Mr. Pitt in the country, and urged distinctly the measure of a Committee; Lord Hawkesbury had all along been strongly for it; and Lord Castlereagh latterly. On Friday this was communicated to Lord Melville, who had very reluctantly acceded to it.

A Cabinet was to be held further on this business to-day, at four o'clock. He had told Mr. Pitt that I ought to be spoken to as soon as the measure was agreed upon; and Lord Sidmouth undertook that I should know to-morrow morning the precise determination taken. He was also of opinion that Lord Melville ought to relieve the King's Government from any hazard of suffering by his case, and retire during the approaching recess at Easter.

8*th.* — *Lord Melville censured.*

House of Commons. Mr. Whitbread, according to notice brought forward his motions upon the tenth report, and opened, in a speech of three hours, the

history of Lord Melville's conduct in his office of Treasurer of the Navy, and the constitution of the office, the irregularities of Mr. Trotter, &c. &c.

Upon the first motion being put to the question, Mr. Pitt stated the case of Lord Melville, not as defending or justifying, but remarking upon the explanations which the case might receive if inquired into by a Select Committee; and concluded by moving the previous question.

Lord Henry Petty followed in a very able speech, and the debate was continued by the Attorney-General, Mr. Tierney, Canning, the Master of the Rolls, George Ponsonby, Fox, Wilberforce, &c., till four o'clock in the morning.

Upon the division, the numbers being 216 and 216, it came to me to give my casting vote.

I spoke to the House as follows :—

In proceeding so to do, I shall beg leave to state very briefly the reasons which will govern my vote. Three charges have been advanced against the noble lord, — violation of the Act of Parliament (25 George III. c. 61); connivance at the profits illegally made by Mr. Trotter for his own private use out of the public moneys; and participation in those profits. On the other hand, it has been urged that material information may be derived from a further inquiry, which ought to influence the House in its final decision upon these charges. But, upon the best attention I have been able to give to the result of this important debate, it appears to me that although such further information may be applicable to the latter charge, it cannot have any reference to the former charges, which are confessed and established; and fit for the immediate judgment of the House. I shall accordingly give my vote with the ayes. And so the ayes have it.

The main question was accordingly put and carried, and several more; the last of which contained the charge that Lord Melville, by his connivance, &c., was guilty of a gross violation of the Act of Parliament, and a high breach of duty. This was also carried without a division.

Mr. Pitt then proposed to put off any further pro-

ceedings upon the charge till Wednesday, which Mr. Fox agreed to, upon condition that the House was also adjourned to that day, as he would not consent to its doing any business whatever whilst the public affairs remained in the hands of a disgraced Ministry.

Adjourned at five in the morning.

9*th*.—Lord Sidmouth was perfectly satisfied with my vote as the only way by which the character of the House of Commons could have been rescued. He afterwards saw Mr. Pitt, and, when I met him again, he told me that Mr. Pitt had written to the King, that "*the Speaker had necessarily voted for the question.*". Mr. Pitt had acknowledged the propriety of my conduct, and so had Robert Dundas, Lord Melville's son.

Corry, Rose, and everybody who spoke to me upon this business, agreed that it was equally advantageous to the House, and also of essential convenience to the Ministers, by putting an end to the question of Lord Melville's guilt or innocence.

Lord Melville resigned this day.

10*th*. — Met Mr. Pitt in my ride, and had a conversation of a sort perfectly civil and friendly, as to the probable proceedings of this day; the length of adjournment, &c.

House of Commons. Mr. Pitt announced Lord Melville's resignation. Mr. Whitbread moved an address to remove Lord Melville from His Majesty's presence and councils for ever. This produced a long and interesting debate; the House not seeming prepared for so strong a vote until the rest of the inquiry had been gone through. The motion was withdrawn, but the House came to an unanimous resolution to lay their former resolutions before His Majesty; and to carry them up by the whole House.

11*th*. — After common business, commissioners went up to St. James's with the resolutions; none of the Ministers went, nor Messrs. Fox, Grey, Sheridan, Wyndham, Grenville, &c. Whitbread apologised for indisposition.

The resolutions were entitled, like the votes, "Lunæ

8 Aprilis," &c., and the Deputy Clerk signed his name at the foot; to the whole was prefixed half a sheet, on which were the following words:

Most Gracious Sovereign, — We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled, have come to the following resolutions; and have unanimously resolved that they be laid before your Majesty.

The King gave for answer:—

Gentlemen,—I shall on all occasions receive with the greatest attention any representation of my Commons, and I am fully sensible of the importance of the matter which is the subject of your resolutions.

The House before it went to St. James's adjourned to this day fortnight. I saw Mr. Pitt in the course of the morning upon the mode of arranging the business. I left London.

EXTRACTS OF A LETTER FROM LORD AUCKLAND TO MR. ABBOT.

Palace Yard, April 23rd, 1805.

My dear Sir,—. . . . . Things are in a strange state; I have had the advantage since yesterday of seeing several leading individuals of opposite persuasions. The *ins* are much dejected, and the *outs* are elated; perhaps the fears of the one and the expectations of the other are somewhat exaggerated. But, at best, the embarrassment is very serious. The mere consignment of such an inquiry to a Committee of your House is, in a great degree a dereliction of the powers of Government; for, if that Committee should be appointed, as I conceive it must be, with a majority of individuals disposed to push the inquiry, no bounds can be put to the proceedings; to their duration, or to their consequences.

"Fertur equis auriga, neque audit currus habenas."

Lord Melville has retained counsel, and talks (I am told) of being heard by counsel against some Bills of restraint, &c., expected to be brought forward.

In the meantime it has been found impracticable to induce anybody to take the Admiralty in any way that can give weight

or numbers. I do not believe that Mr. Yorke will be the person, nor Lord Hawkesbury, nor Lord Hood, nor any of those who have been named. I rather think that we shall hear to-morrow of some new and actual nomination; possibly of the description of Sir Charles Middleton, or of some individual still less expected.

Some measures are to be brought forward in your house on the subject of Army expenses.

I conceive that Mr. Whitbread's motion will be postponed till Friday or Monday. Believe me, my dear Sir,

Ever yours most sincerely, Auckland.

P.S. I am privately told that Mr. Pitt is by no means well in health.

25*th*. — Returned to town. Received a note from Vansittart [saying that he had called "in order to mention to me some occurrences not unimportant which had happened within the last few days"].

The events alluded to were the appointment of Sir Charles Middleton (created Lord Barham) to be First Lord of the Admiralty, without any previous notice to his colleagues in the Cabinet; and Lord Sidmouth having signified his own and Lord Buckinghamshire's determination to resign if that appointment took place; considering it to be an affront to the House of Commons to appoint to such a situation the preceptor of Sir Andrew Hammond; and the person who had chosen Mr. Fordyce for his colleague in the commission for reforming the civil concerns of the Navy.

House of Commons. Grey complained of a libel in the "Oracle" upon the majority of the 8th inst. against Lord Melville; and the printer was ordered to attend to-morrow.

Whitbread moved for a Select Committee on the Tenth Report generally. Mr. Pitt moved an amendment to restrict it to certain points, leaving the matter of amounts and participation of profits to a suit for an account in the Court of Exchequer.

Division for Mr. Pitt's amendment, 229; against it, 151.

And another division upon balloting for the Com-

mittee instead of proposing it by name. For Mr. Pitt's motion for a ballot, 251; against it 120. Adjourned at one o'clock.

26*th*.—Met Lord Sidmouth. Went with him to Vansittart's. He then told me the growing causes of his dissatisfaction with Mr. Pitt's conduct towards him; his having prevented Mr. Pitt from undertaking (as he had intended) the justification of Lord Melville before the recess; his endeavours, during the recess, to obtain some proper arrangement of the Admiralty; his successive propositions of placing there Lord Hood, or Lord Castlereagh, or Lord Hawkesbury, or Mr. Yorke; and the preference given to Sir Charles Middleton, to which he had objected very decidedly. His own offer to take the seals of the Home Department, in case Lord Hawkesbury went to the Admiralty, which had been put by with an announced intention to put Lord Camden there in case of Lord Hawkesbury quitting it.

That all these and other points had been discussed when Mr. Pitt dined with him on Friday, the 19th inst.; that Mr. Pitt had promised to be with him the next day, to settle the arrangements, that he had not come that day nor Sunday; but, on Monday last, had written to Lord Sidmouth a note (which he showed me), acquainting him with his having written to the King to recommend Sir Charles Middleton, &c. To this, by the same messenger, Lord Sidmouth returned an answer (which he showed me), declaring that, in consequence of this determination, he must resign his situation in His Majesty's Government, &c.*

On Tuesday they dined together at Windsor, but no conversation took place. It was the installation day.

On Wednesday they had a full conversation, in which Lord Sidmouth had persisted in his opinion and determination; and Mr. Pitt, regretting it, had, at the same time, admitted that he had no cause of complaint whatever against any part of his conduct since their

* Mr. Pitt's and Lord Sidmouth's letters are given in the *Life of Lord Sidmouth*, vol. ii. p. 35

last junction, nor before it; that the scene was painful and affecting.

That yesterday, before Lord Melville's further questions were brought forward, lest the event, whatever it might be, should appear to have influenced his decision, he had again written a letter (which he showed me), requesting Mr. Pitt no longer to delay laying before the King his resignation.

Lord Buckinghamshire had written to Lord Sidmouth a letter (which I also saw), to the same effect: that he should unquestionably resign also for the same reason.

House of Commons. Printer of the "Oracle" brought before the House for a paragraph reflecting on the conduct and character of the House of Commons, for their vote of the 8th inst. After some debate he was committed to the serjeant.

Lord St. Vincent mentioned to Mr. Fox the resignations, and Mr. Fox mentioned them to the Prince of Wales; and it was generally known to the principal persons at the dinner of the Royal Academy.

28*th*.—Saw Lord Glenbervie. From him I learnt that yesterday morning Sir H. Mildmay had declared his friends had now got rid of Mr. Addington, which they had long wished for, and were heartily glad of. And yesterday evening it had been the general talk of the opera that the resignations had taken place; that the Duke of Gordon had insisted it was not true, and quoted Lord Chatham as having said "he inclined to believe it was not true."

Saw Lord Auckland. On Friday or yesterday Lord Chatham had talked with Lord Sidmouth, and in vain endeavoured to bring him to a waiver of the resignation; but, in full discussion, had admitted that nothing could be said against it. Lord Hawkesbury had written a long expostulatory letter against the resignation for such a cause as Sir Charles Middleton's appointment; to which Lord Sidmouth had written a full answer, stating this appointment not to be the one cause, but

the last and final event of many which had been long leading to the same end.

Yesterday there was to have been a council, but Lord Sidmouth declined attending, and it could not be held.

That Lord Chatham had at last been desired by Mr. Pitt to acquaint Lord Sidmouth that Mr. Pitt would not send the resignations to the King, but wished to see him upon the subject; in consequence of which they met yesterday at four o'clock.

Saw Hatsell. He gave me the sequel. The discussion between Lord Sidmouth and Mr. Pitt was full. Lord Sidmouth pressed him to declare if he had any cause of complaint respecting his conduct. Mr. Pitt: "None since our junction; nor before."—Lord Sidmouth: "Yes, before; there was the pamphlet."—Mr. Pitt: "Oh no, I have been satisfied about that long ago." The result was that it was agreed to suspend the resignations, upon three conditions, which Lord Sidmouth was at liberty to declare to all his friends, as well as to mention all that had passed. Conditions:—1. That Sir Charles Middleton's appointment shall be announced to be only temporary. 2. That all naval abuses shall be effectually prosecuted. 3. That Lord Sidmouth's friends should be at liberty to act as they pleased, without its affecting the present state of the parties. Lord Sidmouth, who was to have seen the King to-day, agreed to postpone it, and meet Mr. Pitt again, saying that he was not yet convinced of the necessity of not persisting in his resignation, but had no objection to see Mr. Pitt on it once more. Vansittart came in and confirmed all these particulars. The King says Sir Charles Middleton's is a foolish appointment.

LETTER FROM LORD AUCKLAND.

[Confidential.] Sunday, 9 A.M.

My dear Sir,—You will have heard, or will hear this morning, that the rumoured differences and separations are in a train of arrangement. It is sometimes possible that a shake which

threatens the downfall of the building may eventually contribute to its permanency and security. Still, however, for the character of the edifice, and for the feelings of those who live under its roof, I could wish that the "settlement" in the foundation had not become the object of public observation. In truth, I was well electrified yesterday, when I found that a secret on which you and I had not ventured to speak, not even to each other, was known in an assembly of 200 politicians and painters. Yours ever most sincerely, AUCKLAND.

In my walk to-day I met the streets full of persons of all ranks, discussing upon the contradictory rumours of the resignation.

29*th.* — House of Commons. Ballot reported. Debate on motion for proceeding against Lord Melville for account. Amendment to proceed criminally. For the account, 223; against it, 128.

Vansittart came home with me. He had seen Lord Sidmouth, and did not understand that any specific measures or changes were agreed upon to take place now, or at any stipulated time, as the conditions of the reconciliation.

30*th.* — Sir Charles Pole called. He had seen Lord Sidmouth, and did not find any circumstances or conditions upon which the reconciliation had been founded, and he had told Lord Sidmouth, after hearing him out, that this was not the first time he had been taken in. All Lord St. Vincent's friends very angry.

House of Commons. Whitbread's motion to strike out Lord Castlereagh from the Committee: 86 against 219.

Thursday, May 2nd. — House of Commons. Printer (of the "Oracle") petitioned to be discharged. Division, 123 to 142. Reprimanded and discharged. Thanks voted to the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry; long debate, but no division.

3*rd.*—Great alarm for the West Indies.*

* The French fleet had escaped from Nelson in the Mediterranean and gone there; but he had pursued them with such energy and unparalleled sagacity and skill, though with a fleet of less than half their force, that he had prevented them from doing us the slightest injury.

6th.—Lord Sidmouth and Bond called. The reconciliation grounds were stated by Lord Sidmouth in the same way I had before understood them, and that Lord Sidmouth had concluded with telling Mr. Pitt that he was willing to try it as an experiment.

As to Lord Melville, on Saturday last Mr. Pitt made up his mind to give way to Whitbread's motion; the only question with him was the mode, whether by letter from Lord Melville proposing it, or by Mr. Pitt anticipating the debate by announcing it, or by hearing Mr. Whitbread's motion, and then, upon the apparent sense of the House, deferring to that sense, if so expressed. But Mr. Pitt was to let Lord Sidmouth know his determination yesterday; to-day at one o'clock he had not even yet heard from him.

House of Commons. At the sitting of the House, Bond told me that as he and Lord Sidmouth went from me, they met Mr. Pitt going down to his examination before the Select Committee; and he had told them that he should prevent the expected debate of to-day, by announcing that Lord Melville was to be struck out of the Privy Council. Accordingly, after Mr. Whitbread had made his speech, and moved to take the King's answer into consideration, Mr. Pitt acquainted the House that, although he had conceived there not to have been a disposition at the time of the vote against Lord Melville to press this measure, he had, from the debates since, and from the intercourse with individual members, found the present disposition of the House to be decidedly for that measure, and he had therefore thought it his duty to advise His Majesty to erase Lord Melville's name from the Council, which His Majesty had directed to be done at the next Council which should be held.

Some further speeches followed, in which Mr. Fox triumphed in the victory of the House over the Minister; Mr. William Dundas made a hot and indiscreet vindication of Lord Melville, and an attack upon Mr. Fox, as the son of Lord Holland, who had made profit,

when paymaster, out of the public money; to which Mr. Fox replied, by contrasting the different situations of the offices before and since Lord Melville's* and Mr. Burke's Acts.

Mr. Pitt this day, in his examination before the Committee, stated that in 1797 he had with Mr. Dundas's consent borrowed upon security 4000*l.* surplus of naval moneys, to enable Boyd and Benfield to make good an instalment due upon their loan.

7th.—House of Commons. Angry motions for papers respecting Lord St. Vincent's naval administration.

8th.—At the Antient Music the Prince of Wales entered into a long conversation with me, condemned the altercations in the House of Commons about naval papers, expressed his surprise at Mr. Pitt saying one day that he would not advise Lord Melville's being struck out of the Privy Council, and announcing upon a subsequent day that he had advised it. Spoke very favourably of Whitbread's manner of opening the charge and carrying on the proceedings against Lord Melville. Wondered Lord Melville did not offer himself for examination; thought that nothing was now left but impeachment. Spoke of the Master of the Rolls's two last speeches as having fallen much below his expectations. Endeavoured to persuade all *his* friends not to meddle with these quarrels, but to look to the greater concerns of the country in these times of external danger. Ridiculed the idea of Lord Barham, at eighty-two, becoming First Lord of the Admiralty and having a peerage for himself and daughter, accompanied with an intimation that he was only a *temporary* First Lord, and not to last many weeks. He mentioned also the Catholic question; said that he had so far prevailed with Mr. Fox as not to think of bringing forward

* The Act which Fox here speaks of as Lord Melville's, was one passed in 1785, for regulating the department of Treasurer of the Navy, when the salary of the Treasurer was raised from 2000*l.* to 4000*l.* a year, in lieu of all profits, fees, or emoluments he might before have derived from allowances of the public moneys in his hands.

the whole claim, but to soften it down to a question for a Committee. That he had not succeeded quite so easily with his friend Lord Grenville, &c., and then went into high encomiums on his talents, &c.

9th.—Dr. Beche called; his report is that the Duke of Northumberland, Sheridan*, Tierney, and several leading persons of Opposition have declared their decided disapprobation of the Roman Catholic claims. Lord Auckland came to talk over the Lords' proceedings in Lord Melville's case. The Lords' standing order of 20th Jan. 1673, and the cases of Lord Torrington, 1690, Duke of Leeds, 1695, Lord Somers, 1701, Bishop Atterbury, 1723, Lord Sandwich, 1769, &c.

Lord Hawkesbury came afterwards upon the same matter. He stated to me the precedents, and the arguments and doubts of the Lords, upon which they were to meet again to-day; and, upon the whole, it seemed best to us that the Lords should (upon all the papers before them, and their knowledge of our votes) assume that there were points upon which Lord Melville stood accused, and therefore answer us by a message that they had referred the matter of our message to a Committee of Privileges,—that, in the meantime, Lord Melville had applied to the Lords for leave to be examined by the Commons, and that they had given him leave to go and be examined if he should think fit upon the matters referred to the Select Committee (according to Lord Sandwich's case, 19th Dec. 1768), except such as had been already made *an accusation* against him, by the resolution of the 8th April, meaning thereby to maintain the principle of their standing order.†

10th.—Cowper came by my desire to talk over the

* This is the more probable, as from Moore's Life of Sheridan (vol. ii. c. xix) it appears that Sheridan did, at the instance of the Prince, endeavour to prevail on Fox not to present the Roman Catholic petition, though his attempt failed, because Fox had already promised to present it. But at a later period Fox himself agreed in the propriety of not moving the question during the King's lifetime.

† See upon this point *Hatsell*, vol. xiii. p. 7, and vol. iv. pp. 139-317.

precedents of messages requiring the attendance of peers to be examined by the Committees.

House of Commons. Mr. Jeffreys made his motions upon the Admiralty. A long conversation, in which Lord St. Vincent's friends complained of the attack, and this mode of inquiry by papers, urging a Committee, and a Secret Committee if necessary.

Panegyric upon Lord Barham and his services, his abilities, and present activity of body and mind, pronounced by Mr. Wilberforce; and no adverse comment made upon it.

The Lords debated the Catholic Petition till three in the morning; and then adjourned till Monday. The Duke of Cumberland, Lord Sidmouth, Lord Hawkesbury, and Lord Redesdale spoke against the claim as inadmissible at any time.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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